Law, Medicine, and Engineering in the Cult of the Saints in Counter-Reformation Rome

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Law, Medicine, and Engineering in the Cult of the Saints in Counter-Reformation Rome

The Hagiographical Works of Antonio Gallonio, 1556–1605

By
Jetze Touber

Translated from Dutch by
Peter Longbottom

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CONTENTS

Acknowledgements vii
Abbreviations ix
List of Illustrations xi

1. Introduction 1
   1.1 Gallonio and the Oratory 2
   1.2 Social Discipline and Intellectual History 14
   1.3 Working Method 24
   1.4 *Vero figliuolo del nostro Padre* 28

2. Hagiography and Historiography 45
   2.1 Hagiography and *Historia sacra* 46
   2.2 Gallonio's Sources 62
   2.3 The Christian History of the Oratorians 83
   2.4 Conclusion 98

3. Judicial Proceedings and Malicious Torture 101
   3.1 Canonization Process 102
   3.2 Confessors 125
   3.3 Martyrs 138
   3.4 Conclusion 151

4. Health and Holiness 155
   4.1 Spiritual and Physical Health 156
   4.2 Gallonio and the Physicians 170
   4.3 The Body of the Saint 180
   4.4 Conclusion 191

5. Martyrological Technology 193
   5.1 Nobility, Emblems, Machinery 194
   5.2 Technical Operation 210
   5.3 Illustration 222
   5.4 Conclusion 246

6. Collecting Material about Saints 251
6.1 Collection 252
6.2 Classification 268
6.3 Presentation 283
6.4 Conclusion 291

7. Epilogue 295

Bibliography 307
Works by Antonio Gallonio 307
Primary Sources 308
Secondary Works 313

Index of Names 329
Index of Places 336
Index of Subjects 338

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACO	Archivio della Congregazione dell'Oratorio di S. Filippo Neri (Rome)
ASR	Archivio di Stato di Roma (Rome)
ASV	Archivio Segreto Vaticano (Vatican City)
BA	Biblioteca Ambrosiana (Milan)
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vatican City)
BibVal	Biblioteca Vallicelliana (Rome)
BibAng	Biblioteca Angelica (Rome)

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Chapter 1

1a. Chiesa Nuova 5
1b. Chiesa Nuova and surroundings in the eighteenth century 5
1c. Antonio Tempesta, *Mappa di Roma*, engraving, 1593 (detail) ... 31
1d. Maarten van Heemskerk, drawing 32
1e. Detail from fig. 1d, with on the left the Torre de'Crescenzi 32

Chapter 2

2a. Inscription in the *atrium* of San Silvestro in Capite, Rome: list of the relics of female saints 76
2b. Inscription in the *atrium* of San Silvestro in Capite, Rome: list of the relics of male saints 77
2c. Fresco, S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, in the *portico* 80
2d. Detail from fig. 2c with *plumbatae* 80
2e. Reconstruction drawing of the decorations of the façade of Santi Nereo ed Achilleo (Rome) 88
2f. Detail from fig. 2e 89
2g. Giovanni Guerra and Antonio Tempesta, *Panoplia of instruments for beating*, engraving 90
2h. Giovanni Guerra and Antonio Tempesta, *Panoplia of instruments for tearing*, engraving 90
2i. Franz Hogenberg, *Rome*, engraving 92
2j. Detail from fig. 2i, with the route of the *translatio* of the relics of Flavia Domitilla, Nereus en Achilleus, reconstructed on the basis of BibVal Ms. G.99 f. 13vo 92

Chapter 3

3a. *Vita* of Juan de Sahagún (first page), written by Cardinal Silvio Antoniano, transcribed by Antonio Gallonio 113

3b. Brief of Clement VIII, 19 June 1601 (first page), in which he grants the Augustinians of Salamanca the right to recite the *officium* in honor of Juan de Sahagún, transcribed by Antonio Gallonio, in his own dossier in Biblioteca Vallicelliana 114
3c. Brief of Clement VIII, 19 June 1601 (first page), in which he grants the Augustinians of Salamanca the right to recite the *officium* in honor of Juan de Sahagún, transcribed by Antonio Gallonio, document of the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies 115

Chapter 5

5a. Hiëronymus Wierix, *Christ in wine press*, engraving 202
5b. Giovanni Guerra and Antonio Tempesta, *Windlass and press*, engraving 203
5c. *Pulley and windlass*, engraving 204
5d. Giovanni Guerra and Antonio Tempesta, *Martyrs exposed to wild animals*, engraving 226
5e. Niccolò Circignani e.a., *Processus, Martinianus and Gervasius*, fresco, Santo Stefano Rotondo (Rome) 227
5f. Giovanni Guerra, Leonardo Parasole and Girolama Parasole, *Equuleus*, engraving 229
5g. Giovanni Guerra and Antonio Tempesta, *Saint Restituta*, engraving 230
5h. Pieter van der Borcht (attributed to), *Crosses*, engraving 232
5i. Pieter van der Borcht (attributed to), *Testudines*, engraving ... 233
5j. Giovanni Guerra and Antonio Tempesta, *Instruments of torture with equuleus in the background*, engraving 234
5k. Antonio Gallonio (?), *Equuleus*, drawing 235
5l. Giovanni Guerra and Antonio Tempesta, *Equuleus*, engraving 235
5m. Girolamo Maggi, *Military axonometry*, engraving 238
5n. Giovanni Guerra, *Obelisk*, engraving 239
5o. Giovanni Guerra, *Fountain*, drawing 240
5p. Giovanni Guerra and Antonio Tempesta, *Panoplia of instruments for burning and searing*, engraving 242
5q. Giovanni Guerra and Antonio Tempesta, *Instruments for burning and searing*, engraving 243

5r. Giovanni Guerra, Leonardo Parasole and Girolama Parasole, *Instruments for burning and searing*, engraving 244
5s. Giovanni Guerra and Antonio Tempesta, *Ungula*, engraving (detail) 246
5t. *Ungula*, kept in the *Tesoro di San Pietro* 248
5u. Francesco Fulcaro (attributed to), *Ungula*, engraving 249

Chapter 6

6a. Anton Eisenhoit, *Bladder stones of Pius V*, engraving 267
6b. Pirro Ligorio, *Strigiles*, engraving 276

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

'Whenever I sat down to study, it felt as if I were going to die.' This plaint of Antonio Gallonio (1556–1605), who studied and wrote a great deal, was characteristic of his inner struggle, according to his seventeenth-century biographer.[1] Although Gallonio, a priest of the Oratory of Rome, would rather have devoted himself to prayer and contemplation, his spiritual leader Filippo Neri (1515–1595) compelled him to apply his intellectual capacities to the writing of saints' lives.

Saints were called upon by believers to assist them in their daily tribulations. Saints also functioned as examples; they showed the faithful how to live their lives.[2] Saints were all-pervasive in early modern Catholic culture and Gallonio's hagiographical oeuvre constituted a significant contribution to their presence. The choice of words, structure and layout of Gallonio's various writings was always dependent on their specific function and the nature of the intended readership. The knowledge and the arguments that he used were means of drawing the attention of his readers to the veneration of saints. In his diverse projects he had to deal with a variety of worldly fields of knowledge, such as law, medicine and engineering. Despite his aversion to intellectual ambition, he had to engage himself in these worldly fields of knowledge, as I shall argue in this book.

Gallonio's hagiographical works differ widely. He wrote an inventory and classification of the tortures to which Christian martyrs had been exposed, in two editions, one in Italian (1591) and one in Latin (1594). He also wrote biographies of holy virgins, both in Italian (published in 1591/1593 and 1597) and in Latin (unpublished). The last work that Gallonio published during his lifetime was the life story of Filippo Neri. This Florentine priest, charismatic leader and thaumaturge, was the founder of the Oratory, an influential ecclesiastical organization in the cultural life of

[1] 'Quando io andava allo studio, mi pareva d'andare alla morte.' Giacomo Ricci, 'Breve notitia di alcuni suoi compagni' in: Pietro Giacomo Bacci, *Vita di S. Filippo Neri Fiorentino fondatore della Congregatione dell'Oratorio* (Rome: F. Tizzoni, 1672) 170.

[2] Sofia Boesch Gajano, *La santità* (Rome: Laterza, 2005² [1999]) 3–18, 37–53.

Counter-Reformation Rome.[3] The publication of Gallonio's *Vita* of Neri, in Latin (1600) and in Italian (1601), was closely linked to the trial that led to Neri's canonization in 1622.[4] In addition, Gallonio worked on various projects that were either not published at all or were published much later in the nineteenth century. These vary from a short *vita* of Gallonio's own female confessant Elena Massimo (1579–1593), to a concise juridical treatise about the acts of devotion that were permitted in veneration of those who had died in the odor of sanctity, but who had not formally been canonized.[5]

In this book I discuss how, in these diverse hagiographical works, Gallonio engaged with elements and techniques from the aforementioned secular disciplines of law, medicine and engineering. We will see that in these engagements he endeavored to claim for the priesthood aspects of the lives of saints that at first sight seemed to be the preserve of worldly experts. His oeuvre, and the context in which it came into being, demonstrates the ambivalence of a priest who wanted to bind the laity to himself without subjecting himself to worldly preoccupations. It is precisely his ambivalence which makes this relatively unknown sixteenth-century priest interesting to the intellectual and social history of the early modern Roman Catholic culture. It shows how a priest wrestled with the world he strove to edify.

1.1 *Gallonio and the Oratory*

Gallonio's hagiographical work shows how Roman Catholic culture in the early modern period partly rejected worldly interests and partly appropriated them to suit its own interests. This was part of the strategy used by the Church of Rome to steer the devotional and societal lives of its members in specific directions. Religious orders such as the Oratory of Rome, with which the work and life of Gallonio are closely linked, took the lead in this strategy with all kinds of initiatives.

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[3] Stefano Simoncini, 'Tendenze e figure della cultura' in: Antonio Pinelli ed., *Roma del Rinascimento* (Rome: Laterza, 2001) 199–266 (257–262).

[4] Antonio Cistellini, 'A proposito della *Vita di S. Filippo Neri* di Antonio Gallonio', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 54 (2000) 1–11 (1–2).

[5] An inventory of the works of Gallonio, published and unpublished, is included at the end of this book. See for a more detailed examination of his hagiographical oeuvre § 2.1.

The Oratory of Rome

The Oratory of Rome was a new religious organization in the sixteenth century, of which the young Gallonio was a member.[6] Historians have often looked upon the Oratory as the counterpart of the Jesuits, who assumed the function of benchmark in the early modern history of clerical orders. However, the Oratory should rather be seen as one example of a whole range of new pastoral organizations in the sixteenth century, including the Jesuits, which despite their peculiarities had many traits in common.[7] Just like the Jesuits, the Theatines, the Barnabites and other new orders of the sixteenth century, the Oratorians endeavored to live exemplary lives and to promote active participation in Christian rites and instruction among broad strata of the population: rich and poor, educated and illiterate. Furthermore, from the outset there were within the Oratory several, sometimes conflicting ideals, interests and strategies. Just like the Jesuits, the Oratory aspired to emulate the first apostolic communities in austerity and humility, but at the same time produced monumental works of historical and theological erudition. From an artistic perspective, the Oratory was in keeping with the new style of extravagance, the Baroque. Gallonio belonged to the first generation of priests of the *Congregatio Oratorii*, which was formalized in 1575 by Pope Gregory XIII (1501–1585, pope 1572).[8] In this early phase there was no consensus among the members of the order as to which direction their institute should take.[9]

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[6] The most thorough historical study of the origin and earliest development of the Oratory and the role therein of its first members, including Gallonio, is Antonio Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri, l'Oratorio e la Congregazione oratoriana. Storia e spiritualità* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 1989).

[7] A concise overview of the new religious orders in the sixteenth century is given by Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540–1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 27–41. For the different viewpoints and the resultant conflicts among the first Jesuits, see John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993).

[8] Hereafter I shall refer to the *Congregatio Oratorii* simply as 'the Congregation'. Other collectives that are known as 'congregations', including administrative sections of the papal Curia such as the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies, will be referred to by their full names.

[9] These different aspects of the Oratory in the first decades of its existence are dealt with in Maria Teresa Bonadonna Russo, 'Origine e sviluppo dell'Oratorio di San Filippo Neri', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 55 (2001) 3–17; Antonio Cistellini, 'Filippo Neri, prete romano' in: Maria Teresa Bonadonna Russo and Niccolò del Re eds., *San Filippo Neri nella realtà romana del XVI secolo* (Rome: Società romana di storia patria, 2000) 5–12; Maria Teresa Bonadonna Russo, 'La cultura storica nella Congregazione dell'Oratorio' in: Bonadonna Russo and Del Re, *San Filippo Neri*, 69–88; Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, I, 71–116; Alessandro Zuccari, 'La politica culturale dell'Oratorio romano nella seconda metà del

The most important tendencies within the Oratory can be summarized by examining some prominent individuals in the early history of the organization. The founder, Filippo Neri, is known as the jester of the Counter-Reformation who, with a disarming and sometimes confrontational joke, brought into line all the pride and pretensions of the laity and priests. Agostino Valier (1531–1606), Bishop of Verona, in his enthusiasm about this pastoral style, wrote a fictitious dialogue entitled *Philippus, sive de laetitia christiana*, referring to the humor with which Neri dealt with the world.[10]

Besides jokes, the Christian cheer cherished by the Oratory also resulted in a more permanent cultural legacy. In addition to the priests who formed the core of the Oratory, there were several other partially overlapping groups that had to bring to fruition the pastoral initiatives of the organization. Beginning in 1575, the Oratory organized gatherings for a wide audience in the church of Santa Maria in Vallicella, located in a small hollow close to the Tiber that had been allocated to the organization. It was situated between the two medieval roads that ran from the less salubrious Campo de'Fiori towards Saint Peter's basilica and the Vatican. After thirty years of work the Oratorians completed the present church, known as the Chiesa Nuova (Figs. 1a, 1b).[11]

The gatherings were accompanied by musical performances that developed into an important subgenre within church music, the *oratorio*, around 1600.[12] Of the priests within the Oratory, Giovanni Giovenale Ancina (1545–1604) was the most involved with musical developments during this period. He was principally responsible for texts and musical arrangements, while the compositions emanated from a selection of musicians, such as Giovanni Animuccia (1514ca.–1571) and Giovanni Francesco

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Cinquecento', *Storia dell'Arte* 41 (1981) 77–112; Joseph Connors, *Borromini and the Roman Oratory. Style and Society* (New York: Architectural History Foundation, 1980).

[10] Vittorio Frajese, 'Tendenze dell'ambiente oratoriano durante il pontificato di Clemente VIII. Prime considerazione e linee di ricerca', *Roma Moderna e Contemporanea* 3 (1995) 57–80 (63–74); Alphonse Dupront, 'Autour de S. Filippo Neri: de l'optimisme chrétien', *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* 49 (1932) 219–259.

[11] Costanza Barbieri, Sofia Barchiesi and Daniele Ferrara, *Santa Maria in Vallicella. Chiesa Nuova* (Rome: Fratelli Palombi, 1995) 9–44; Carlo Gasbarri, 'L'Oratorio secolare romano dalle origini ad oggi', *Quaderni dell'Oratorio* 12 (1966) 1–46 (16).

[12] It is no longer current practice to ascribe the origin of the *oratorio* exclusively to Filippo Neri's Oratory: see Juliane Riepe, '"Per gloria del nostro santissimo protettore, per propria divotione, e per honore della compagnia". Osservazioni sulle esecuzioni di oratori delle confraternite in Italia nel XVII e XVIII secolo' in: P. Besutti ed., *L'Oratorio musicale italiano e i suoi contesti (secc. XVII–XVIII), atti del convegno internazionale (Perugia, Sagra Musicale Umbra, 18–20 settembre 1997)* (Florence: Olschki, 2002) 341–364.

Fig. 1a. Chiesa Nuova (photo public domain).

Fig. 1b. Chiesa Nuova and surroundings in the eighteenth century: Giuseppe Vasi, *Chiesa Nuova*, etching from: Giuseppe Vasi, *Delle magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna* VII *Libro settimo che contiene i conventi e case dei chierici regolari* (Rome: N. and M. Pagliarini, 1756) 137.

Anerio (1567–1630).[13] With the music, the architecture, and the paintings and statues which adorned the rooms, the Oratory was a noteworthy presence in Rome from the 1580s onward.

The happiness of the Oratorian spirituality, which sometime leaned towards cultivated naivety, has created in modern historians the impression of an egalitarian group that avoided institutional and doctrinaire consolidation, at least in the first decades of its existence while Neri was still alive.[14] After the founder's death in 1595 this changed in a short space of time. Cesare Baronio (1538–1607) became the most influential member of the organization. This Oratorian from the town of Sora to the east of Rome is principally known as the author of the *Annales ecclesiastici*, a major contribution to ecclesiastical historiography. While Neri represents the spontaneity and happiness of the Oratory, and Ancina the introduction of music and literature, Baronio is preeminently the representative of erudition in the Oratory.[15] Between cooking and taking confession—all the priests of the Congregation were required to continue to assist with the day-to-day activities of the Oratory—he studied publications, manuscripts and archives, and corresponded widely with scholars all over Europe. While Neri bestowed on the Oratory the reputation of an egalitarian and loosely organized group, Baronio was the Oratorian of precision, structure and rules.[16] The Oratory was given statutes, and continued its existence as a non-monastic society of secular priests; they lived in a community but were at the same time part of the Church's parochial organization.

Gallonio was the apple of Neri's eye, and lent continuing succor to his spiritual father, particularly in the last years of his life. Just like his mentor,

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[13] P. Damilano, 'Ancina, Giovanni Giovenale' in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* III (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1961) 40–43.

[14] Zuccari, 'La politica culturale dell'Oratorio romano nella seconda metà', 79; Dupront, 'Autour de S. Filippo Neri', 254–259.

[15] The most important publications concerning the erudite production of Baronio: Luigi Gulia ed., *Baronio e le sue fonti: atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Sora, 10–13 ottobre 2007* (Sora: Centro di studi sorani, 2009); Stefano Zen, *Baronio storico: Controriforma e crisi del metodo umanistico* (Naples: Vivarium, 1994); Romeo de Maio e.a. eds., *Baronio storico e la Controriforma: atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Sora 6–10 ottobre 1979* (Sora: Centro di studi sorani, 1982); Hubert Jedin, *Kardinal Caesar Baronius. Der Anfang der katholischen Geschichtsschreibung im 16. Jahrhundert* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1978); Cyriac K. Pullapilly, *Caesar Baronius: Counter-Reformation Historian* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975); Filippo Caraffa ed., *A Cesare Baronio: scritti vari* (Sora: s.n., 1963); Angelo Roncalli (pope John XXIII), *Il cardinale Cesare Baronio* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1961); Generoso Calenzio, *La vita e gli scritti del cardinale Cesare Baronio* (Rome: Tipografia Vaticana, 1907).

[16] Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, II, 780–786.

he was averse to the centralization and regulation of the Oratory. At the same time, he followed the example of Baronio in the production of erudite works. However, despite their shared interest in ecclesiastical history and hagiography, the course of their collaboration was not smooth. This research into Gallonio's hagiographical work contributes to a clearer picture of his position in the Oratory, which during his life developed from the personal catechetical initiative of Neri into an authoritative religious institution furnished with statutes and favored by several popes.

Gallonio in Historiography

In the last fifty years researchers have examined Gallonio and his works from different angles. The history of the first hundred years of the Oratory from the pen of Antonio Cistellini, himself an Oratorian, is very informative. In this work, Cistellini included a large amount of information about Gallonio.[17] However, since the author focuses on Neri and his foundation, the appearance of Gallonio in this massive study is fragmented. Furthermore, Cistellini emphasizes Gallonio's wayward character and the conflicts this caused. When Gallonio turns up in this monumental work, it is as a maverick within the Oratory, who often followed his own impulses at the expense of the attempts of his fellow Oratorians to provide the institution with a solid structure.

Gallonio's reputation suffered further from an incident that, according to many historians, indicates a great rivalry between himself and Baronio. In June 1592, Gallonio supposedly announced that he was to produce a written critique on Baronio's *Annales ecclesiastici*, the third volume of which had been published a few months earlier. It is not known what the content of Gallonio's critique was, but Baronio was disgruntled. Neri seized this opportunity to openly humiliate Baronio by having him proffer his apologies to Gallonio in the refectory of the Oratory. This incident has aroused much incomprehension in later historians. Although it was Neri who seized upon the clash between his two adherents in order to put the renowned ecclesiastical historian in his place, historians blamed Gallonio for causing the scandal through his own unreasonable nature.[18] The humiliation of Baronio is, however, less puzzling if we bear in mind

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[17] Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri, ad indicem*.

[18] Giuseppe Finocchiaro, *Cesare Baronio e la Tipografia dell'Oratorio: impresa e ideologia* (Florence: Olschki, 2005) 89–91; Zen, *Baronio storico*, 118–120; Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, II, 787–792, 826, 841; Calenzio, *La vita e gli scritti*, 296–308.

that the Oratorians aspired to achieve a delicate balance between intellectual accomplishment and renunciation of the world. Baronio's star was rising rapidly, and his mortification served to remind him that his intellectual achievements were not ends in themselves. This balancing act plays a central role in the chapters that follow.

The conflict with Baronio has continued to hang like a dark cloud above the later appreciation of Gallonio's own oeuvre. In the history of ecclesiastical historiography and Christian archaeology, Gallonio often figures as one of the pioneers of employing visual and material antiquities as sources of information for the interpretation of hagiographical literature.[19] While nowadays historians still commend Baronio's historiography for its critical use of sources, Gallonio, as precursor of the modern archaeologists, appears to have been inaccurate and uncritical. This has exacerbated the negative judgment about the self-willed Oratorian. His criticism of Baronio seems misguided because of the latter's outstanding achievement, and even less justified given the mediocrity of his own work. However, this judgment does not do justice to the versatility of Gallonio as an author, and contradicts the apparent recognition his work enjoyed, given the frequency with which his publications were republished in the seventeenth century.[20]

Since the 1990s the work of Gallonio has come to be judged less as a contribution to the history of the historical sciences, and more as an expression of devotion. Important to this approach have been the publications of Simon Ditchfield. According to Ditchfield, whether Gallonio possessed the critical attitude observed by Baronio or not is beside the point. Neither Gallonio nor his more famous contemporaries made it their aim to establish ecclesiastical erudition as a discipline. In his most important study in this context, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History*, Ditchfield identifies the hagiographical work of Gallonio as part of a trend in early modern Italy to verify existing literary and liturgical traditions and to adapt them to the pedagogic requirements of the Counter-Reformation Church. The

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[19] Massimiliano Ghilardi, 'Le catacombe di Roma dal Medioevo alla *Roma sotterranea* di Antonio Bosio', *Studi Romani* 40 (2001) 27–56 (34); Giuseppe Bovini, *Gli studi di archeologia cristiana dalle origini alla metà del secolo XIX* (Bologna: Pàtron, 1968) 33–34; Giuseppe Ferretto, *Note storico-bibliografiche di archeologia cristiana* (Vatican City: Tipografia poliglotta vaticana, 1942) 128–130; Carlo Cecchelli, *Il cenacolo filippino e l'archeologia cristiana* (Rome: Istituto di studi romani, 1938) 16, 18; Pietro Fremiotti, *La riforma cattolica del secolo XVI e l'archeologia cristiana* (Rome: Pustet, 1926) 77–83.

[20] For the various editions, see the section, 'Works by Antonio Gallonio' in the Bibliography.

scholarly treatises, whether or not founded on advanced philology or on empiric archaeology, were ultimately tools for the furtherance of devotion and the solutions of problems surrounding liturgy, such as the recognition of cults at a local level, and the consequences that this had for competing or incompatible cults.[21] In this way, Ditchfield has given Gallonio's activities their place in the socio-cultural dynamics of the early modern Roman Catholic Church in Italy, without judging his qualities as a historian or archaeologist.

In addition to the internal program within the world of Roman Catholicism for the furtherance of devotion among the population, the external program for the combating of North European reformers has also been linked with Gallonio's oeuvre. In particular his *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, the Latin edition of the treatise of martyrdom, is taken in secondary literature as part of the Roman Catholic polemical literature against Protestant heretics and oppressors. Because of passages about contemporary religious violence, Adriano Prosperi, Frank Lestringant and Antoinette Gimaret characterize this work as a histrionic complaint against the barbarism carried out by the Protestants against Roman Catholics in the sixteenth century.[22] Brad Gregory sees the early modern fascination for martyrdom as part of the formation of a collective loyalty in both Roman Catholic and Protestant communities. He considers the work of Gallonio as illustrative of the specific Catholic notion that the divine reward for martyrs was proportional to their suffering. This, according to Gregory, inspired Gallonio to undertake the detailed discussion of the technical details of martyrdom.[23]

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[21] Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy. Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 44–50; see also Simon Ditchfield, 'Ideologia religiosa ed erudizione nell'agiografia dell'età moderna' in: Sofia Boesch Gajano ed., *Santità, culti, agiografia. Temi e prospettive. Atti del I Convegno di studio dell'Associazione italiana per lo studio della santità, dei culti e del'agiografia, Roma 24–26 ottobre 1996* (Rome: Viella, 1997) 79–90 (86–87); idem, 'Text before trowel: Antonio Bosio's Roma sotterranea revisited' in: R.N. Swanson ed., *The Church Retrospective* (Woodbridge 1997) 343–360 (343–344).

[22] Antoinette Gimaret, *Extraordinaire et ordinaire des Croix. Les représentations du corps souffrant 1580–1650* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2011) 29–77; Frank Lestringant, *Lumière des martyrs: essai sur le martyre au siècle des Réformes* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2004) 149; Adriano Prosperi, 'La mort de l'hérétique: normes juridiques et pratique concrète au temps de l'inquisition romaine' in: Silvana Seidel Menchi ed., *Ketzerverfolgung im 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1992) 159–174 (161).

[23] Brad S. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999) 281.

Apart from the pedagogic and the polemical aspects, unpublished sources show that the juridical aspect of the veneration of saints is comprehensively represented in Gallonio's work as well. Towards the end of his life Gallonio was closely involved with the ecclesiastical administrative organs that were responsible for controlling the veneration of saints. He was well informed in jurisprudence and moved freely in high ecclesiastical circles, and was therefore directly involved in the juridical regularization of the cults of the saints. The historian Miguel Gotor describes Gallonio as a proponent of a relatively relaxed attitude to the veneration of saints, an outlook that was to be defeated by the more repressive attitude of representatives of the ecclesiastical courts. Gotor interprets this conflict as between an anti-authoritarian movement in the Roman Catholic Church, represented among others by Neri, and repressive jurists that thought uniformity and hierarchy more important for the Church of Rome than individual spiritual development. He traces the anti-authoritarian movement back to the preaching of the Florentine Dominican Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498), who criticized the clergy for their all-too-worldly orientation and urged them to lead more spiritual lives. Another historian, Giovanni Papa, who himself was active in the current *Congregazione delle Cause dei Santi*, pays particular attention to the internal juridical development of the canonization procedure in his study of the earliest institutionalization of canonization. He has a low opinion of Gallonio, whom he presents as a bull in a china shop at a critical moment in the codification of the canonization process.[24]

In short, for historians the importance of Gallonio's work no longer lies in the value of his contribution to 'scientific' archaeology but in his role in the ecclesiastical regularization of the cult of the saints. In the literature of art historians, however, Gallonio remains the representative of ecclesiastical erudition. It is in particular the engravings and reconstructions of ancient instruments of torture that give rise to this view, together with the writings in support of Baronio's new program for the decoration of the church dedicated to Santi Nereo ed Achilleo. The illustrations in the treatise of martyrdom are often connected to the martyrological visual culture that developed among the Jesuits in the last decades of the

[24] Miguel Gotor, *I beati del papa. Santità, Inquisizione e obbedienza in età moderna* (Florence: Olschki, 2002) 132–138, 186–202; Giovanni Papa, *Le cause di canonizzazione nel primo periodo della Congregazione dei Riti (1588–1634)* (Vatican City: Urbaniana University Press, 2001) 52–64. See also Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History*, 212–269.

sixteenth century.[25] From this perspective the treatise of martyrdom is often considered an ecclesiastical handbook for the purpose of showing artists how to portray martyrdoms.

Opher Mansour has best elaborated this interpretation. He links Gallonio's treatise specifically with the reflection on sacred painting prevalent among contemporaries. Clerics such as Johannes Molanus (1533–1585), Gabriele Paleotti (1524–1597) and Federico Borromeo (1564–1631) published precepts for the themes, composition and execution of paintings in a religious context. Gallonio's treatise of martyrdom may seem to be a practical variant of this prescriptive literature, directed specifically at the portrayal of martyrdom.[26] The attraction of early Christian antiquities was a determining factor in the style of the martyrological images. Mansour considers the treatise of martyrdom a preeminent expression of the interest in history and archaeology, 'poised between pastoral and scholarly concerns'.[27]

Subsequently, Gallonio's 'scholarly concerns' have been linked once more with sixteenth-century developments in the production of knowledge, but in a more general sense than in comparison with the ecclesiastical historian Baronio. In an article about archaeology in the early modern

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[25] Gauvin A. Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque: Jesuit Art in Rome, 1565–1610* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003) 124, 136; Stefania Macioce, *Undique Splendent—Aspetti della pittura sacra nella Roma di Clemente VIII Aldobrandini (1592–1605)* (Rome: De Luca, 1990) 91–99; Antonio Vannugli, 'Gli affreschi di Antonio Tempesta a S. Stefano Rotondo e l'emblematica nella cultura del Martirio presso la Compagnia di Gesù', *Storia dell'Arte* 48 (1983) 101–116 (115–116 with fig. 27); Zuccari, 'La politica culturale dell'Oratorio romano nella seconda metà', 90–91; David Freedberg, 'The representations of martyrdom during the early Counter-Reformation in Antwerp', *The Burlington Magazine* 118 (1976) 128–138 (137); Federico Zeri, *Pittura e controriforma: l'arte senza tempo di Scipione di Gaeta* (Turin: Einaudi, 1957) 89–94.

[26] Opher Mansour, 'Not Torments, but Delights: Antonio Gallonio's *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio* of 1591 and Its Illustrations' in: Andrew Hopkins and Maria Wyke eds., *Roman Bodies. Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century* (London: The British School at Rome, 2005) 167–183. See also Simon Ditchfield, 'Leggere e vedere Roma come icona culturale (1500–1800 circa)' in: Luigi Fiorani and Adriano Prosperi eds., *Storia d'Italia Einaudi. Annali* 16 *Roma, la città del papa. Vita civile e religiosa dal giubileo di Bonifacio VIII al giubileo di Papa Wojtyla* (Turin: Einaudi, 2000) 31–72 (38–39).

[27] Mansour, 'Not Torments, but Delights', 174–175. Christian Hecht and Marco Pupillo expressed themselves similarly about Gallonio's work in studies of the Counter-Reformation visual culture: Christian Hecht, *Katholische Bildertheologie im Zeitalter von Gegenreformation und Barock: Studien zu Traktaten von Johannes Molanus, Gabriele Paleotti und anderen Autoren* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1997) 257–258; Marco Pupillo, 'Antonio Tempesta (Firenze 1555–Roma 1630) da Giovanni Guerra 69. Trofeo con strumenti di martirio' and idem, 'Antonio Tempesta (Firenze 1555–Roma 1630) da Giovanni Guerra 70. Le Ss. martiri Pudenziana e Prassede' in: *La regola e la fama. San Filippo Neri e l'arte*, exhibition catalogue (Milan: Electa, 1995) 513–514 and 514–515.

period, Peter Burke draws attention to Gallonio's methodology in his work about instruments of torture as an example of an increasing inclination among scholars to observe the object of their research directly. According to Burke, Gallonio was representative of a tendency in the sixteenth century to involve material and visual sources in research into the past by observing them directly instead of reproducing texts about them: the autoptic vision.[28]

Apart from that, it is not only the methodology but also the choice of subject that links Gallonio's treatise on methods of torture to the autoptic vision, which left its mark on—in particular—medical science. His sober reconstruction of methods of torturing and destroying the human body, in combination with the clinical illustrations, have on occasion been associated with the culture of dissection, the widespread interest in anatomical studies in the early modern period. Piero Camporesi has devoted several studies to the attraction that arose among scholars and artists for both the living and the dead body, which was manifested, among other things, in the emergence of anatomical dissection. He sees Gallonio's treatise of martyrdom as an expression of this fascination for the opening and inspection, but also the contortion and dismemberment of the human body.[29]

The hypothesized culture of dissection led Gallonio, in his treatise of martrdom, to scrutinize saints that had lived in the first centuries of Christianity whose lives, through rewriting and retelling in the course of the ages, had become stereotypical narratives. In the *Vita* of Neri, however, Gallonio wrote about a man who was not only of flesh and blood, but whose body he himself had cared for when old age had left it sighing in the room above his. When relating to contemporary saints, the fascination with the human body coincided to some extent with the interests of medical practitioners. According to Nancy Siraisi, autopsies that physicians carried out on the bodies of prominent clerics such as Ignatius Loyola, Carlo Borromeo, and also Neri, aimed at recording bodily phenomena more

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[28] Peter Burke, 'Images as Evidence in Seventeenth-Century Europe', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64 (2003) 273–296 (281–282).

[29] Piero Camporesi, *The Anatomy of the Senses. Natural Symbols in Medieval and Early Modern Italy*, transl. Allan Cameron (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994 [Milan: Garzanti, 1985]), 137–141. The concept of the 'culture of dissection' and the corresponding 'autoptic vision' are subjects of Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned. Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (London: Routledge, 1995) 1–15. See also Luigi Lazzerini, 'Le radici folkloriche dell'Anatomia. Scienza e rituale all'inizio dell'età moderna', *Quaderni storici* 29 (1994) 193–233; Giovanna Ferrari, 'Public anatomy lessons and the Carnival: the anatomy theatre of Bologna', *Past and Present* 117 (1987) 50–106 (82–105).

comprehensively and more exactly than before—and out of an intrinsic interest in these phenomena, rather than just out of piety and political expediency.[30] Catrien Santing too has followed the autoptic vision of contemporary saints. She contends that the need to see with one's own eyes what was hidden inside the body of the saint was focused on the heart where, with the transformation of blood into *spiritus*, a permanent exchange took place between Heaven and Earth.[31]

Burke, Camporesi, Siraisi and Santing see medicine as a source of inspiration for Gallonio's methodology. In addition, Frank Lestringant introduces engineering as a societal phenomenon that left traces in Gallonio's hagiographical work. The instruments of torture graphically illustrated in Gallonio's treatise of martyrdom are remarkable mechanisms, often exaggerated in their complexity. Lestringant describes the competencies of the engineer and the surgeon as sources for the iconic and discursive style that Gallonio chose for the treatise of martyrdom.[32] Philippe Codognet also considers the work of Gallonio as illustrative of the process in which philosophical speculation gave way to an 'engineering-oriented vision of science'.[33] Not only the culture of dissection, but also the culture of construction and engineering thus appear to have influenced Gallonio's work to some extent.

In this way, Gallonio has evolved in modern historiography from being an inferior scholar who quarreled with his fellow Oratorians into a resolute pedagogue and polemicist who, in an original and versatile manner, gave form to a traditional field of knowledge—hagiography. In view of the fact that law, medicine and engineering have been put forward as relevant fields of knowledge for Gallonio's oeuvre, in addition to ecclesiastical history and Christian archaeology, I have used these as my starting

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[30] Nancy G. Siraisi, 'Signs and evidence: autopsy and sanctity in Late Sixteenth-Century Italy' in: idem, *Medicine and the Italian Universities, 1250–1600* (Leiden: Brill, 2001) 356–380 (361–362, 368, 378).

[31] Catrien Santing, '"Deus Rotator and the Microrotator". Blood as the Source of Life in the Life and Works of Andrea Cesalpino' in: Catrien Santing and Jetze Touber eds., *Blood, Symbol, Liquid* (Louvain: Peeters, 2012) 137–156; Catrien Santing, 'Secrets of the heart: the role of saintly bodies in the medical discourse of Counter-Reformation Rome' in: Andrew Hopkins and Maria Wyke eds., *Roman Bodies. Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century* (London: The British School at Rome, 2005) 201–214; Catrien Santing, '*De affectibus cordis et palpitatione*: secrets of the heart in counter-reformation Italy' in: Willem de Blécourt and Cornelie Usborne eds., *Cultural Approaches to the History of Medicine. Mediating Medicine in Early Modern and Modern Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004) 11–35.

[32] Lestringant, *Lumière des martyrs*, 149.

[33] Philippe Codognet, 'Ancient images and new technologies: the semiotics of the Web', *Leonardo* 35 (2002) 41–49 (43–44).

point for the study of Gallonio's work. In order to give direction to the exploration of Gallonio's work on the basis of these fields of knowledge, I shall make use of two conceptual frameworks: social discipline and intellectual history.

1.2 *Social Discipline and Intellectual History*

Gallonio contributed to the efforts of the Oratory to bind the laity to it as confessants and participants in catechetical gatherings. At the same time, he also cultivated ecclesiastical erudition. One was not separate from the other, and in this section I shall suggest how social discipline and intellectual history are linked.

Counter-Reformation and Social Discipline

The Oratory of Rome bears the indelible stamp of the Counter-Reformation.[34] Since the 1970s, in addition to the political and theological conflict between Protestant and Catholic Europe, the internal social and cultural developments within the confessional blocks after the Reformation have also attracted a great deal of attention. 'Confessionalization' and 'social discipline' became accepted concepts in relation to religion and culture in early modern Europe. These concepts imply an increasing hold by the ecclesiastical and worldly authorities on individuals' perceptions of religion. The medieval experience of faith was of a strong theatrical, ritual nature, in which collective actions determined the rhythm of religion. Beginning in the late Middle Ages, particularly after the Reformation, priests cultivated a reflective faith and conscience in individual Christians, actively stimulated by ecclesiastical and worldly institutions that

[34] It remains a subject of debate which term should be applied to the Catholic culture of the early modern period after parts of Latin Christianity broke off into various Protestant denominations. I choose the old-fashioned term 'Counter-Reformation', in common use since the first half of the twentieth century, instead of, for example, the 'Catholic Reformation' or the 'Catholic Renaissance' (Hubert Jedin), 'Tridentine Catholicism' (Eric Cochrane), 'Early Modern Catholicism' (John O'Malley) or the 'World of Catholic Renewal' (Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia). All of these labels suffer either from partiality or vagueness. 'Counter-Reformation' seems to me the most familiar and least unwieldy. In this book, the 'Counter-Reformation culture' signifies Catholic culture (including literature, the arts, the sciences, philosophy, social customs and of course religion in all its facets) of roughly 1550 to 1650.

had an interest in a self-regulating laity.[35] This ecclesiastical discipline is evinced for the Italian Counter-Reformation in numerous studies about the role of secular and regular clergy in the daily life of Italian urban and rural communities, the development of the sacraments as mechanisms of social control, and ecclesiastical censure and the ecclesiastical courts, catechesis and proselytism.[36]

The veneration of saints, the field at which Gallonio's efforts were directed, took an ambivalent place in the pursuit of social discipline. On the one hand, spiritual leaders were eager to refer to carefully selected saints as examples of good behavior that should be emulated, both within the social order and in preparation for the hereafter. Furthermore, saints literally embodied the divine mystery on which the Church of Rome had the monopoly.[37] One the other hand, the veneration of saints had to be prevented from degenerating into uncontrolled veneration, mass hysteria

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[35] Po-chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal*, 4–6; Jean Delumeau, *Catholicism Between Luther and Voltaire: a New View of the Counter-Reformation*, transl. Jeremy Moiser (London: Burns and Oates, 1977 [Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1971]); John Bossy, *Christianity in the West 1400–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985); Wolfgang Reinhard, 'Gegenreformation als Modernisierung? Prolegomena zu einer Theorie des konfessionellen Zeitalters', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 68 (1977) 226–252. A useful conceptual introduction is: Philip S. Gorski, *The Disciplinary Revolution: Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003) 3–19.

[36] Wietse de Boer, 'Focal Point—Themenschwerpunkt: Confessionalization and social discipline in France, Italy, and Spain—Social discipline in Italy: peregrinations of a historical paradigm', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 94 (2003) 294–307. Several publications emanating from the conceptual framework of social discipline: Wietse de Boer, *The Conquest of the Soul: Confession, Discipline, and Public Order in Counter-Reformation Milan* (Leiden: Brill, 2001 [i.e. 2000]); Gigliola Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo. La censura ecclesiastica e i volgarizzamenti della Scrittura (1471–1605)* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1997); Elena Brambilla, *Alle origini del sant'Uffizio: penitenza, confessione e giustizia spirituale dal Medioevo al XVI secolo* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2000); Frederick J. McGinness, *Right Thinking and Sacred Oratory in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995); Adriano Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza: inquisitori, confessori, missionari* (Turin: Einaudi, 1996); Wolfgang Reinhard, 'Kirchendisziplin, Sozialdisziplinierung und Verfestigung der konfessionellen Fronten: Das Katholische Reformprogramm und seine Auswirkungen' in: Georg Lutz ed., *Das Papsttum, die Christenheit und die Staaten Europas 1592–1605. Forschungen zu den Hauptinstruktionen Clemens' VIII.* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1994) 1–13; Paolo Prodi and Carla Penuti eds., *Disciplina dell'anima, disciplina del corpo e disciplina della società tra medioevo ed età moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1994). In Italy this type of research is partly a continuation of and partly a reaction to an older, more explicit political tradition of critical historical studies into the Church's hold on social life in the Italian past, by historians such as Luigi and Massimo Firpo, Albano Biondi, and Delio Cantimori.

[37] For example: Giulia Barone, Marina Caffiero and Francesco Scorza Barcellona eds., *Modelli di santità e modelli di comportamento* (Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1994); Peter Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy. Essays on Perception and Communication* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) 48–62; Sofia Boesch Gajano and Lucia Sebastiani eds., *Culto dei santi, istituzioni e classi sociali in età preindustriale*

and deceit; in short, idolatry.[38] In other words, in the early modern period the veneration of saints was a useful instrument for social discipline, but it certainly was a dangerous instrument.

The social function of the cult of the saints and the attempts made by the clergy to gain a firm grip on it, form an important motif in Ditchfield's work. He describes how the Counter-Reformation priesthood tried to exercise control over the cult of the saints, in part by adopting multimedia strategies that appealed to the new tastes of the public. The interference of Oratorians with the cult of the saints and the manner in which they wrote hagiographies are telling examples of this.[39]

The concepts of confessionalization and social discipline imply interference in the lives of the believers, both from a spiritual and a physical point of view. Important research into efforts made by the Counter-Reformation Church to steer the inner religious experience of churchgoers has been carried out by Adriano Prosperi and Wietse de Boer. Prosperi sees inquisitors, confessors and missionaries in the early modern period as part of one and the same project: to take possession of the consciences of the Italians. Inquisitors brought proceedings against those expressing heterodoxy, confessors tried to get a grip on the thoughts of their confessants, and missionaries won souls in places where the articles of faith of the Church had not yet penetrated. What is important here is that missionaries traveled not only to the East and West Indies, but particularly to 'le nostre Indie', the 'internal mission' to rural communities on the Italian peninsula.[40]

De Boer discusses in detail the pastoral program of the prototypal Tridentine prelate, Carlo Borromeo (1538–1584), Archbishop of Milan, and the results thereof under his cousin and second successor Federico

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(L'Aquila: Japadre, 1984); Angelo Turchini, *La fabbrica di un santo: il processo di canonizzazione di Carlo Borromeo e la controriforma* (Casale Monferrato: Marietti, 1984).

[38] Adelisa Malena, *L'eresia dei perfetti: inquisizione romana ed esperienze mistiche nei seicento italiano* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2003); Gabriella Zarri ed., *Finzione e santità tra medioevo ed età moderna* (Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1991).

[39] Simon Ditchfield, 'Tridentine worship and the cult of the saints' in: R. Po-chia Hsia ed., *The Cambridge History of Christianity* VI *Reform and Expansion 1500–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) 201–224 (210–212); idem, 'An early Christian school of sanctity' in: idem ed., *Christianity and Community in the West: Essays for John Bossy* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001) 183–205; idem, 'Leggere e vedere'; idem, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History*. For an extensive discussion of the work of Ditchfield, in relation to Gallonio, see the following section.

[40] Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza*. For the use of 'le nostre Indie' in the sixteenth century as a metaphor for the area requiring missionary work in their own locality: ibid., 551–568.

Borromeo. In this program the emphasis lay on the sacrament of confession as an internal forum, that is to say as inner counterpart of the external forum of the Inquisition, the tribunal of faith within the Roman Catholic Church. Confession was a powerful instrument for the clergy in the 'internal mission' for monitoring whether the laity, who were in name Catholic, submitted themselves fully to the Church's prescribed conduct and concepts.[41]

An outwardly oriented order such as the Oratory, which allotted a central role to confession and to preaching, fits perfectly within this trend of influencing the spiritual lives of the faithful. The Oratory incorporated the 'internal mission' in the myth of its origin, to which Gallonio contributed vitally with the life story of Neri, founder of the order. Gallonio describes how in 1557 Neri, with several of his followers, thought up a plan to depart for 'India' and there, as missionaries, to brave the horrors that accompanied the dissemination of the faith. In order to ascertain that their plan was in accordance with the will of God, Neri asked the advice of a Cistercian monk, who was promptly told in a vision by John the Evangelist that Neri should consider the city of Rome as his 'India'.[42] There was no need for Neri to go to the wildernesses of Asia or America in order to convert perverted souls.[43] The spiritual wilderness of the Roman lowland plain

[41] De Boer, *The Conquest of the Soul*.

[42] 'Hora udito il Religioso Monaco (per ritornare all'historia) l'animo di Filippo intorno à impresa sì grande, pigliato tempo alla risposta raccomandò ferventemente il negotio al Signore, e ritornato à lui Filippo (come era semplice e puro) narrogli, che orando, San Giovanni Evangelista suo divoto gli era apparso, il quale gli haveva detto, che l'Indie sue erano Roma, dove voleva il Signore servirsi dell'opera, e buona volontà sua, e de'suoi allievi per la salute di molti', Antonio Gallonio, *Vita del beato padre Filippo Neri fiorentino fondatore della Congregatione dell'Oratorio* (Rome: L. Zannetti, 1601) 56–57.

[43] The plan of Neri and his followers to depart for 'India' and Agostino Ghettini's vision are discussed extensively in Gennaro Cassiani, 'Padre Filippo e le "Indie". Alle radici del progetto missionario dell'Oratorio', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 62 (2008) 47–80. Cassiani contends that 'India' in this case relates to America and not to Asia, as Neri was originally in closer contact with the Dominicans than with the Jesuits, and in 1557 could have possessed the *Brevissima relacion de la destruycion delas Indias* by the Dominican Bartolomé de las Casas. Given that this is speculation, and that it is certain, on the other hand, that Neri and other Oratorians owned works written by Jesuits about Asia, it seems to me that the question as to which continent the Oratorians had in mind is an open question. See 'Benemeritorum de Vallicellana Bibliotheca Congregationis Oratorii Romani Eorum scilicet, qui suis Testamento relictis libris illam locuplentem reddiderunt Aeternum Posteris Monumentum', BibVal Ms. P.206. See for the use in the sixteenth century of 'le nostre Indie' as a metaphor for a mission area in one's own home region: Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza*, 551–568. For the reputation of Ghettini as a prophet: Giovanni Incisa della Rocchetta and Nello Vian eds., *Il primo processo per San Filippo Neri nel Codice Vaticano Latino* 3798 *e in altri esemplari dell'archivio dell'Oratorio di Roma* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1957–1963) III, 29–31 [D. Pressuri].

where the Oratory was located had more than enough need of spiritual reclamation. So the Oratorians forthwith devoted their efforts towards the worldly society that surrounded them.

In addition to techniques for spiritual control, the observation and disciplining of the body are also part of the model of confessionalization. In the Italian context, Piero Camporesi devotes attention to the manner in which the Church, in interaction with other groupings in early modern society, was continually confronted with the human body as an element in spiritual development, sometimes as an obstacle, sometimes as a vehicle.[44] This confrontation could lead to intensive interference. David Gentilcore has carried out research into the manner in which the Church dealt with sickness and diabolic possession in the early modern kingdom of Naples, in an anthropological model that supposes that the sick had a number of alternatives for obtaining cures. Saints that performed miraculous healings posed serious competition for the medical professions, and the testimonies in canonization processes are rich sources of examples of this ecclesiastical meddling in the physical well-being of the Catholics.[45]

Gallonio too experimented with ways of controlling social ambitions and physical conduct. As the confessor to a community of young women who were preparing themselves for entry into the convent, he was constantly occupied in testing their obedience, humility and devotion.[46] This same interference was a determining factor in the way he assimilated hagiographical sources into his writings. With his *Historia delle sante vergini romane*, a critical adaptation of mostly ancient *vitae* of virgin female saints of Rome, he targeted his own female confessants. His need to teach his followers the correct concepts and behaviors determined his choices of source material and his arguments. In this way, the concept of social discipline, the influencing of the social life of the faithful, comes together in Gallonio's work with intellectual history, the history of the generation and the dissemination of knowledge and ideas.

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[44] Camporesi, *The Anatomy of the Senses*; idem, *Il sugo della vita: simbolismo e magia del sangue* (Milan: Edizioni di Comunità, 1984); idem, *La carne impassibile. Salvezza e salute fra Medioevo e Controriforma* (Milan: Il saggiatore, 1983). Cfr. for the relationship between techniques of spiritual control and disciplining of the body: Michel Foucault, *Histoire de la sexualité* I *La volonté de savoir* (Paris: Gallimard, 1976) 25–49.

[45] David Gentilcore, *Healers and Healing in Early Modern Italy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998); David Gentilcore, *From Bishop to Witch: the System of the Sacred in Early Modern Terra d'Otranto* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992).

[46] For Gallonio's activities as a priest, and for examples of the tribulations to which Neri subjected him and to which he willingly submitted, in turn inflicting the same on his confessants, see § 1.4.

Intellectual History

While the Oratorians tried to discipline the world in the sixteenth century, that very same world appeared to be quickly becoming larger and more complex, and consequently harder to retain a grip on. The contacts with the New World and Asia provided missionaries access to new continents, where they not only tried to convert heathens but also acquired knowledge about exotic cultures and nature that was difficult to fit within the existing frameworks. Typography provided unprecedented opportunities for the dissemination of devotional images that were linked to moral precepts, but at the same time had as a consequence a flow of unwelcome ideas that could no longer be held back. The Reformation and the Counter-Reformation produced a large quantity of printed pedagogic and polemical material, the writers of which left no metaphor untried in order to point out to dissenters the error of their ways. The publication and distribution of a multiplicity of new knowledge from Antiquity not only created the impression that the golden age of the classics could be revived, it also produced dilemmas and paradoxes in the existing mental cartography of society and the cosmos.[47] While Gallonio and his fellow Oratorians tried to manage the beliefs and consciences of their flock, they were faced with rapidly increasing knowledge, criticism and confusion. The choices they made determined whether their message of salvation was persuasive enough to convince the faithful to become their followers. Their choices were relevant not only to the history of religious culture but also to intellectual history.

Accordingly, we can study Gallonio's oeuvre as a collection of philosophical, historical or scientific texts, concentrating on his efforts to collect sources of information and to weigh them against one another, on the choices that he made between alternative versions, and on the reasoning that he followed in doing so. Until several decades ago, the history of hagiography as an intellectual discipline was chiefly a concern for those who produced hagiography themselves. For a long time the emphasis was on the extent to which hagiographical texts contained accurate historical

[47] For a brief but clear sketch of the intellectual and cultural developments of which early modern Catholicism was a part: Robert Bireley, *The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450–1700* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999) 1–24. See also Anthony Grafton, April Shelford and Nancy G. Siraisi, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts. The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1992).

facts.[48] Oratorian production in the area of hagiography and ecclesiastical history in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was seen by modern historians as an important step in the development of reliable, well-founded ecclesiastical historiography. In this respect Baronio, author of the *Annales ecclesiastici*, is the best known of the Oratorians. His name is often spoken in the same breath as those of his learned fellow Oratorians Gallonio and Tommaso Bozio (1548–1610), as well as other clerics outside the Oratory who are believed to have been inspired by Neri, such as Onofrio Panvinio (1530–1568), Alfonso Chacón (1530–1599) and Antonio Bosio (1575–1629).[49]

Since the 1960s, the study and the celebration of saints in the early modern period have become objects of research as social, cultural and intellectual phenomena. It is not so much the content of hagiographical writings, that is to say the life histories of the saints, that is of interest in this approach, but the production, the function and the reception of the texts. Issues examined, for example, are the ways in which successive versions of a *vita* have served different political interest groups in their efforts to claim a saint as their own, or the extent to which hagiographical texts vary as to their formal characteristics and corresponding liturgical and devotional functions. The same shift in perspective has generated attention to the relationship between the increasing philological complexity of early modern hagiographical studies

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[48] Claudio Leonardi, 'Agiografia' in: *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo I Il Medioevo latino* I.2 (Rome: Salerno, 1993) 421–462 (422–425); Baudouin De Gaiffier, 'Hagiographie et historiographie', *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* 17 (1970) 139–166. The interest in the historical verification of hagiographical texts was also the basis for Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1966[2] [1921]), and pervades the most important typological survey of the genre, an unchanged reprint of which was published in 2000, a half century after its first appearance: René Aigrain, *L'Hagiographie: ses sources, ses methodes, son histoire* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 2000 [repr. of Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1953]).

[49] Examples of studies in which Neri is seen as a source of inspiration for ecclesiastical erudition: Zuccari, 'Politica culturale dell'Oratorio romano nella seconda metà', 90–91; Eric Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981) 452–453; more recently, with the proper qualifications: Giuseppe Antonio Guazzelli, 'Cesare Baronio and the Roman Catholic Vision of the Early Church' in: Katherine van Liere, Simon Ditchfield and Howard Louthan eds., *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) 52–72 (52–54). For Gallonio as a participant in the revival of "Christian archaeology" at the end of the sixteenth century, see § 2.2. A recent reconsideration of the received perception of Neri as the inspiration for Christian archaeology: Martine Gosselin, 'The Congregation of the Oratorians and the Origins of Christian Archeology: A Reappraisal', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 104 (2009) 471–493.

and the text-critical finesse in other intellectual sectors.[50] Gallonio's hagiographical work can be looked upon as a special variant of the large-scale collection and classification of knowledge that was frequently practiced in the early modern period.

The way in which Gallonio gathered, processed and presented information about saints is interesting from the viewpoint of the relationship between textual authority and empiricism in the creation of knowledge. This is a central theme in the history of science and scholarship of the early modern period.[51] In the article mentioned earlier, Burke presents Gallonio's work as representative of a trend in early modern culture to accept empirical observations as independent evidence in arguments. He sees a 'visual turn' in this, an increased epistemological value of observation.[52] Conversely, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, textual sources and rhetorical techniques continued to be determining factors for the most diverse scholarly activities and writings, not only theology and historiography, but also, for example, medicine and natural philosophy, as is apparent from studies by Anthony Grafton, Katherine Park, Nancy

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[50] Pioneering was the study about the social function of hagiography in the Merovingian dynasty: František Graus, *Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger im Reich der Merowinger: Studien zur Hagiographie der Merowingerzeit* (Prague: Nakladatelství Československé akademie vèd, 1965). Also of great influence was the essay by Delooz: Pierre Delooz, 'Pour une étude sociologique de la sainteté canonisée dans l'Église catholique', *Archives de Sociologie des Religions* 13 (1962) 24–43. In the 1980s, a group of researchers was formed in Italy that studied hagiography and the cult of the saints as a socio-cultural historical phenomenon: the AISSCA (*Associazione Italiana per lo Studio dei Santi, del Culto e dell'Agiografia*). The first of a steady stream of collections of essays that this group published is Boesch Gajano and Sebastiani, *Culto dei santi, istituzioni e classi sociali*. Among these edited volumes of the AISSCA are several that approach hagiography as a part of intellectual history: Gennaro Luongo ed., *Erudizione e devozione: le raccolte di Vite di santi in età moderna e contemporanea* (Rome: Viella, 2000); idem ed., *Scrivere di santi. Atti del II Convegno di studio dell'Associazione italiana per lo studio della santità, dei culti e dell'agiografia. Napoli, 22–25 ottobre 1997* (Rome: Viella, 1998); Sofia Boesch Gajano ed., *Raccolte di vite di santi dal XIII al XVIII secolo: strutture, messaggi, fruizioni* (Fasano: Schena, 1990).

[51] Brian W. Ogilvie, *The Science of Describing: Natural History in Renaissance Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006) 17–23; Gianna Pomata and Nancy G. Siraisi, 'Introduction' in: idem ed., *Historia: Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2005) 1–38; Grafton, Shelford and Siraisi, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts*, 1–10; R. Hooykaas, 'The rise of modern science: when and why', *The British Journal for the History of Science* 20 (1987) 453–473.

[52] Burke, 'Images as Evidence', 281–282. For this purported 'visual turn', Burke states his indebtedness to Francis Haskell and Arnaldo Momigliano: see Francis Haskell, *History and its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993) 13–127 and Arnaldo Momigliano, 'Ancient history and the antiquarian', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13 (1950) 285–315.

Siraisi and Lorraine Daston.[53] Methodologically, the study of nature and the study of culture shared much more common ground than is the case at present.

Instead of simply interpreting Gallonio's work against the background of hagiography and adjacent genres of ecclesiastical literature, I propose to study his work as part of the general 'history of truth'.[54] The strategies that Gallonio employed to make his hagiographies plausible can be likened to the strategies of the furnishing of proof by scholars who were active in entirely different fields. The three areas of law, medicine and engineering serve to make such an endeavor manageable.

Whenever Gallonio ventured into the realms of juridical hair-splitting, medical jargon or technical reconstructions in his hagiographical works, he also entered into the areas of these other fields of knowledge. Nowadays they are the domains of professional groups who, by means of specialized knowledge, exercise influence on the behavior of society as a whole. The professionalization of these disciplines has involved the development of a proper identity and ethos. Practitioners have organized themselves into institutions that carry out self-regulation and set up professional training.[55] In the sixteenth century the current extent of professionalization was still far away, but the practitioners of law, medicine and engineering were certainly perceptible as groups that distinguished themselves through their specialized expertise, the demand for their services and their conspicuous self-created profiles.

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[53] Pomata and Siraisi, *Historia*; Nancy G. Siraisi, 'Oratory and Rhetoric in Renaissance Medicine', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 65 (2004) 191–201; Anthony Grafton, *Bring Out Your Dead. The Past as Revelation* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001); Grafton and Siraisi, *Natural Particulars*; Nancy G. Siraisi, 'Anatomizing the Past: Physicians and History in Renaissance Culture', *Renaissance Quarterly* 53 (2000) 1–30; Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750* (New York: Zone Books, 1998); Anthony Grafton, *The Footnote: A Curious History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997); Grafton, Shelford and Siraisi, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts*; Lorraine Daston, 'Marvellous facts and miraculous evidence in early modern Europe', *Critical Inquiry* 18 (1991) 93–124.

[54] To study the history of hagiography and its miracles in the framework of the 'history of the truth' is a suggestion put forward by Simon Ditchfield, 'Ideologia religiosa ed erudizione', 86–87. In doing so, Ditchfield refers to the work of Shapin and Schaffer: Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994) and Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air-Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).

[55] Michael Burrage, 'Introduction: the professions in sociology and history' in: Michael Burrage and Rolf Torstendahl eds., *Professions in Theory and History: Rethinking the Study of the Professions* (London: Sage, 1990) 1–23.

Jurists and medical practitioners were already institutionally very well organized in the sixteenth century.[56] Their corporate identities are evinced by the fact that they were not modest about their contributions to public welfare, which repeatedly led to rivalry among them.[57] The importance of jurists and medical practitioners to the social and physical well-being of mankind was recognized outside their own professional circles. This is apparent from the way these professions served as metaphors for other social groups: there was, in fact, disagreement among the clergy as to whether they could better compare themselves to judges or to physicians.[58] Within architecture and (military) engineering there was less internal cohesion, and these fields traditionally enjoyed a lower status than law and medicine.[59] However, it was in the sixteenth century that the prestige of the mechanical arts grew as the result of technical innovation and extensive technological literature. Engineering, too, increasingly commanded fascination and respect.[60]

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[56] Jurists: William J. Bouwsma, 'Lawyers and early modern culture' in: idem ed., *A Usable Past: Essays in European Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990) 129–153 (133–138); Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza*, 180–184. Medical practitioners: Mary Lindemann, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 92–101, 120–134, 155–177; Gianna Pomata, *Contracting a Cure. Patients, Healers, and the Law in Early Modern Bologna*, transl. Gianna Pomata, Rosemary Foy and Anna Taraboletti-Segre (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1999 [Rome: Laterza, 1994]) 1–24.

[57] George W. McClure, *The Culture of Profession in Late Renaissance Italy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004) 16–20, 105–115; in the fifteenth century a debate raged in Italy between supporters of the legal profession and supporters of medicine, sketched by Eugenio Garin, 'Introduzione' in: Giovanni Baldi, *La disputa delle arti nel Quattrocento*, ed. Eugenio Garin (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1982[2] [Florence: Vallecchi, 1947]) vii–xx.

[58] De Boer, *The Conquest of the Soul*, 16–17, 55–56; Anne T. Thayer, 'Judge and doctor: images of the confessor in printed model sermon collections, 1450–1520' in: Katharine Jackson Lualdi and Anne T. Thayer eds., *Penitence in the Age of Reformations* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000) 10–29; Ian Maclean, *Interpretation and Meaning in the Renaissance: the Case of Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) 12–13.

[59] McClure, *The Culture of Profession*, 12–16, 115–120.

[60] Jessica Wolfe, *Humanism, Machinery, and Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Pamela O. Long, *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship: Technical Arts and the Culture of Knowledge from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 2001) 175–250; Hélène Vérin, *La Gloire des ingénieurs: l'intelligence technique du XVI[e] au XVIII[e] siècle* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1993); Horst Bredekamp, *Antikensehnsucht und Maschinenglauben: die Geschichte der Kunstkammer und die Zukunft der Kunstgeschichte* (Berlin: Wagenbach, 1993) 41–62; Klaas van Berkel, *Isaac Beeckman (1588–1637) en de mechanisering van het wereldbeeld* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1983) 219–223; Paolo Rossi, *Philosophy, Technology and the Arts in the Early Modern Era*, transl. S. Attanasio (New York: Harper & Row, 1970 [Milan: Feltrinelli, 1962]).

The collecting and processing of hagiographical information required Gallonio as a priest to keep overall control in order to prevent other experts from claiming authority over certain aspects of the veneration of saints: the procedures for establishing the truth, the assessment of miracles of ascesis and healing, and the construction of instruments of torture. At the same time, those other experts could be of service to the Church. By investigating which strategy Gallonio employed with regard to each of the above-mentioned areas of knowledge, I show the extent and the limits of the collaboration of the clergy and worldly expertise, insofar as it relates to the veneration of saints.

1.3 *Working Method*

This book draws on a wide variety of sources. In the following sections I briefly sketch which groups of sources I draw upon, and how I use these sources. This is followed by an overview of the subject of each of the chapters of this book.

Sources and Method

Gallonio's own works, published and unpublished, form the core of the research material. I examine both the design and content of these works.[61] Differences and similarities between Latin and vernacular versions of Gallonio's texts are of special interest to me as they provide insight into the author's thought process. Until far into the early modern period, Latin was Italy's *lingua franca* in liturgy, law and natural philosophy (including medicine). Latin was the language in which to draft texts that were technically and juridically more professional than those written in the vernacular. When Gallonio processed the same material in an Italian *and* in a Latin version, the differences between the texts show very clearly which elements lent themselves to social and intellectual differentiation.[62]

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[61] Ugo Baldini makes the same distinction in his article about the relationship of the early modern Roman Inquisition with science: he suggests differentiating between the actual content of the 'cultura scientifica' of inquisitors and the form in which it was expressed. Ugo Baldini, 'L'inquisizione romana e le scienze: etica, ideologia, storia' in: Agostino Borromeo ed., *L'Inquisizione. Atti del Simposio internazionale. Città del Vaticano, 29–31 ottobre 1998* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2003) 661–707 (673–674).

[62] Paul W.M. Wackers, 'Latinitas en Middelnederlandse letterkunde. Ter inleiding' in: idem e.a. eds., *Verraders en bruggenbouwers: verkenningen naar de relatie tussen Latinitas en Middelnederlandse letterkunde* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 1996) 9–42 (12–15); Burke, *The*

Material that Gallonio himself collected and that he sometimes incorporated into his publications is an important auxiliary source, although I do not systematically describe or publish it. The most notable unpublished material that can be linked with Gallonio is in a series of manuscripts in the library originally founded by the Oratorians, the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome. For the most part he collected this material himself, and to some extent also wrote it out himself. The series consists of twenty-two volumes, in which two groups can be distinguished; the first nineteen volumes contain a large, scarcely organized collection of hagiographical texts from a variety of sources, while the last three volumes contain the preparatory work for a sizeable but unfinished hagiographical publication, the 'Vitae sanctorum qui post Christi ascensum vixerunt'.[63] The first group, the nineteen volumes of collected texts, was material that Gallonio used in assisting various interested parties in matters concerning local saints' cults. Incidentally, Gallonio was not responsible for all the documents that ended up in this group. For example, bound in the first volume is a publication that dates from 1621, long after Gallonio's death. It is clear that the manuscripts were not bound until the seventeenth or eighteenth century.[64] The relevance of this material must therefore be established on a case-by-case basis. The handwritten sources provide insight into the juridical debates relating to the veneration of saints, and into the significance of collectionism and visual and material sources to Gallonio's work as an archaeologist. These are prominent among the themes examined in this book.

Also serving as sources for this study are the published and unpublished works that Gallonio cites. A large proportion of Gallonio's own writings consist of elements that he derived directly from other publications. In doing so Gallonio followed the accepted method of compiling texts by combining 'commonplaces', collected phrases, anecdotes and aphorisms.[65] Gallonio's legacy contained roughly four hundred books, the titles of which

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Historical Anthropology, 83–85, 89; Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia eds., *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

[63] BibVal Ms. H.2–H.7; H.8^{I}–H.8^{III}; H.9–H.14; H.16; H.18–H.23. Volumes H.21–H.23 contain the preparatory work for the hagiographical publication and shall be discussed in § 2.1.

[64] *Officia canonicorum regularium Lateranensium S. Augustini* (Venice: Giunti, 1621) in: BibVal Ms. H.2 ff. 226–261.

[65] Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); Ann Blair, 'Bodin, Montaigne, and the role of disciplinary boundaries' in: Donald R. Kelley ed., *History and the Disciplines: the Reclassification of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1997) 29–40.

have been registered. Some of the copies have been retrieved (his name is written in ink on the flyleaf or on the title page). This legacy is a valuable source of information about the extent of his interests.[66] The realization of the *Vitae* of Neri can be followed on the basis of the published trial documents, which Gallonio drew upon intensively. For the anthology relating to the Roman virgins, there are the manuscripts that he gathered together and his own copy of the *Legendario delle santissime vergini* by Giovanni Battista Natolini (1551–1609), on the inside cover of which Gallonio listed most of the virgins that he describes in his own book.[67] In the treatise of martyrdom, moreover, there are many passages that can be identified as quotations or paraphrases from other works.

Finally, for the purpose of comparison I shall refer to texts and images that were produced during, shortly before or shortly after Gallonio's lifetime, and which, as regards content and design, share common ground with his works. Comparing Gallonio's oeuvre with this material discloses 'traces', such as are sought after in 'microhistory', as sketched by, among others, Carlo Ginzburg, Jacques Revel, Florike Egmond and Peter Mason. This entails the study of a small object of research, in this case the oeuvre and the life of a priest, in order to reveal the complexity of the context. Elements within the object of research that would seem to relate to different disciplines turn out to be connected, thus indicating the confluence of historiographical lines that are generally studied separately from one

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[66] Gallonio's will prescribes that several books should be returned to Cardinal Cesare Baronio, Abbot Giacomo Crescenzi and the Oratorians Francesco Zazzara and Pompeo Pateri. Gallonio also states that several debts should be paid. He bequeathed his possessions in the first instance to the brothers Francesco and Andrea Zazzara, on condition that his books be passed on to the Oratory's library on their death. ACO Vol. A.V.6 ff. 431ro–435ro. See also Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, III, 2221–2222; Elena Pinto, *La Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Roma* (Rome: Società romana di storia patria, 1932) 43–44, 116–120. A list of these possessions, including the titles of the books, can be found in the archive of the notary who drew up the will, Domenico Amadeo: ASR, Notai A.C. Vol. 66 ff. 109ro–114vo and 131ro–134ro. Francesco Zazzara, who survived his brother, handed over virtually all the books that he had taken care of for Gallonio to the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in 1625. Pinto, *La Biblioteca Vallicelliana*, 41–44. The same Zazzara received from Gallonio three handwritten volumes containing *vitae* of saints from Antiquity, with the instructions to tear them up (which he did not do): 'Io Francesco Zazzara fo fede che li due tomi de Vite de Santi, cioè Il Pnte., et un altro simile, et uno piu piccolo scritti di mano del Pre. Ant.o Galloni, quale morì al di 15 di Maggio 1605 e lassiasi à me nel suo Testamento, mi disse che erano imperfetti, e vi erano molte cose da aggiungere, e da levare, mutare, e dechiarare, et mi pregò che li stracciassi.', BibVal Ms. H.21 f. vi^{ro} (original underlining).

[67] Giovanni Battista Natolini, *Legendario delle santissime vergini le quali volsero morire per il nostro Signore Giesu Christo* (Venice: V. Bonelli, 1586). The copy that was in Gallonio's possession is located in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana, with the signature S.Borr.F.II.142.

another.[68] A difference from biography is the continuous interplay between the microscopic scale of Gallonio, his work and his surroundings and the macroscopic scale of disciplines that are principally defined by modern historiography.[69] The microhistoric study of Gallonio provides insight into how large, abstract processes in practice determine the cultural panorama of a single author and are expressed in his work.

Outline of this Book

In this book I examine the extent to which Gallonio tried to make his hagiographical work more plausible or persuasive by making use of other disciplines or, on the contrary, by reacting against them. After a discussion of hagiography as a form of historiography (chapter 2), I deal with these disciplines one by one. As the first of these disciplines, law is of importance in cases where rivalry arose from conflicting jurisdictions, clashes between secular and canon law, and clashes between tribunals and interest groups within these two main categories (chapter 3). The background to this is the separation that had taken place since the Late Middle Ages between the law as a rational method of settling worldly conflicts and penitential mechanisms aimed at the conscience.[70] We then shift our attention to medicine, practiced by physicians but with competition from surgeons and apothecaries, all of whom made attempts to integrate their knowledge and techniques within the paradigm laid down by Aristotle, Hippocrates and Galen (chapter 4).[71] Subsequently we examine engineering, the practice of which as *ars mechanica* started to converge with the theoretical approach of mathematics and geometry precisely in

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[68] Carlo Ginzburg, 'Spie' in: *Miti, emblemi, spie. Morfologia e storia* (Turin: Einaudi, 2000[3] [1986]) 158–209; Carlo Ginzburg, *Il formaggio e i vermi. Il cosmo di un mugniaio* (Turin: Einaudi, 1999 [1976]) xix–xxii; Jacques Revel, 'Micro-analyse et construction du social' in: idem ed., *Jeux d'échelles: la micro-analyse à l'expérience* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996) 15–36; Florike Egmond and Peter Mason, *The Mammoth and the Mouse. Microhistory and Morphology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1997) 2–6, 38–39, 67–72.

[69] Gianna Pomata, 'Telling the truth about micro-history: a memoir (and a few reflections)', *Netværk for historieteori og historiografi: Arbejdspapirer* 3 (2000) 28–40 (consulted on: http://www.hum.ku.dk/histnet/publikationer/arbejdspapirer3/indhold.html, 08-02-2006); Revel, 'Micro-analyse et construction', 25–30; Carlo Ginzburg, '*Microstoria. Due o tre cose che so di lei*', *Quaderni storici* 86 (1994) 511–539 (527–529).

[70] Paolo Prodi, *Una storia della giustizia. Dal pluralismo dei fori al moderno dualismo tra coscienza e diritto* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2000).

[71] Giorgio Cosmacini, *Storia della medicina e della sanità in Italia* (Rome: Laterza, 2005[9] [1987]) 44–54; Lindemann, *Medicine and Society*, 66–119; Pomata, *Contracting a Cure*, 6–13.

this period (chapter 5).[72] The chapters on the disciplines of law, medicine and engineering constitute the core of this book. After having dealt with the various disciplines separately, I shall go into general issues of how knowledge was produced: the relative importance of textual, visual and material testimonies, the classification of data and the presentation of the results (chapter 6). All manner of collectives, including the clergy and the practitioners of the disciplines mentioned, laid claim to the same textual, visual and material elements of knowledge and deployed these in their collective efforts to gain and maintain a grasp on the rest of society.

1.4 Vero figliuolo del nostro Padre

Who was Antonio Gallonio? The following biographical sketch shows how his hagiographical works were an extension of his life as an Oratorian, but also gives an impression of the importance of his contacts with clergy and laity outside the Oratory.

The documents that relate to Neri's followers were filtered by the clerics who, a century later, looked after and processed the material. In the course of the seventeenth century the Oratorians Paolo Aringhi (1600–1676) and Giovanni Marciano (1630–1713), together with the Dominican Giacomo Ricci (†1703), collected archival documents concerning the first generation of Oratorians, as well as verbal accounts of their lives. This resulted in important biographies, which, however, remained in a straitjacket of hagiographical *topoi*.[73] Most of the reported events served to illustrate the virtues of the subjects of those biographies: charisma, charity, obedience, humility, ascesis and learning. Giacomo Ricci, for example, describes Gallonio as so detached from material things that he 'had never learned how to count money or to recognize coins'.[74] This, however, is difficult

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[72] Filippo Camerota, 'Renaissance descriptive geometry: the codification of drawing methods', Wolfgang Lefèvre ed., *Picturing Machines, 1400–1700* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2004) 175–208; Van Berkel, *Isaac Beeckman*, 219–223; Rossi, *Philosophy, Technology and the Arts*.

[73] 'Le vite, e detti de padri, e fratelli della Congregatione dell'Oratorio da S. Filippo Neri fondata nella Chiesa di S. Maria in Vallicella. Raccolti da Paolo Aringhi Prete della detta Congregatione e da altri', in: BibVal Ms. O.58, with the *vita* of Gallonio writtten by Aringhi at ff. 361ro–364ro, and again at ff. 369ro–372vo; Ricci, 'Breve notitia di alcuni suoi compagni'; Giovanni Marciano, *Memorie historiche della Congregatione dell'Oratorio* 5 vols. (Naples: N. De Bonis, 1693–1701).

[74] 'non imparò mai ne à contar denari, ne à conoscer monete.' Ricci, 'Breve notitia di alcuni suoi compagni', 170.

to reconcile with the existence of an acknowledgement of a debt signed by Gallonio in 1590 relating to a loan of six *scudi* from Giulio Cesare Mezzabarba.[75] The suggestion that Gallonio was so detached from the world that he did not even know how to use money would seem to be an invention meant to underscore his Christian heroism.

Ricci took the remark about money from Francesco Zazzara (1574ca.–1626), the most important source of information about the life of Gallonio. Zazzara had already met Gallonio in 1580 or 1581, when Zazzara was still a young boy of six or seven and had begun to visit Neri to make his confession. They had always had a good relationship.[76] Zazzara twice sketched Gallonio's character and life in a few paragraphs.[77] Apart from the information provided by Zazzara, there are eight rounds of testimonies that were taken within the framework of Neri's canonization process between 1595 and 1610.[78] These testimonies focus on Neri's saintly character and soul, so if they mention Gallonio at all, he has a supporting role. The reports about Gallonio in the testimonies are therefore less stylized and sometimes less flattering than those from sources that date from after his death. Fundamental too is the work of Cistellini, who had access to the thousands of letters that the Oratorians sent to one another in the sixteenth century.[79] All sources combined, it is quite possible to follow the life of the Roman priest in broad outline.

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[75] 'A di 30 di Aprile 1590 in Roma. Io Antonio Gallonio confesso haver ricevuto in presto dal M. R. Ill. S.r Cesare Mezzabarba per mani di m. Lodovoci Parigi in contanti scudi sei di moneta quali gli prometto restituire questa pasqua di resurectione del 1591 et il P. Antonio gli fa la sicurta questo di et anno come di sopra et in fede della verita ho scritto et tutto scritto la presente di propria mano. Io Antonio Gallonio mano propria.' ASR, Cong. Oratorio Roma Vol. 145 ff. 164ro.

[76] Zazzara met Gallonio in about 1580: 'Comenciai à conoscere il p. Gallonio dll'anno [*sic*] 1580, overo 1581 credo fusse un'anno, o due dopo che mi comenciai à confessare dal Beato Filippo che fù credo l'ano 1580, incirca con il quale poi conversai sempre dopo mentre ch'egli visse', ACO Vol. P.I.3 no. 9.5. From the *Vita* of Neri it appears that at this time Zazzara was only six or seven years of age, because in 1592 he was eighteen: 'Haveva Filippo tre anni, e piu, prima che e'morisse, promesso à Francesco Zazzara all'hor di diciotto anni', Gallonio, *Vita del beato padre*, 235.

[77] From Zazzara are the following two biographical notes, both of which served as sources for later descriptions of Gallonio's life: a sheet of notes that was inserted between the two versions of Aringhi's life stories of Gallonio, Aringhi, 'Le vite, e detti de padri, e fratelli' in: BibVal Ms. O.58 ff. 361ro–372vo, at ff. 365ro–368ro, almost illegible as the result of ink corrosion, partially written by Zazzara himself, partially by another; and the document ACO Vol. P.I.3 no. 9.5 (one and a half folios, unnumbered).

[78] Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, I, vii–viii.

[79] Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*. At the time the research for this study was being conducted, the archival material of the Oratory of Naples was inaccessibly stored away (in

Antonio Gallonio was born in 1556 as the son of Lazzaro Gallonio and Diana Costa.[80] It is not known whether he had brothers; Gallonio himself spoke only about sisters, several of whom died of pulmonary conditions.[81] According to Zazzara, the pious way of life in Gallonio's parental home was in sharp contrast to the depraved morals that characterized Roman society at the time. To illustrate this, Zazzara related that Gallonio's mother, an attractive woman, had been invited by none other than her own confessor to perform 'indecency'. Despite this outrage, she refused to make known to which order her confessor belonged, thus allowing the culprit to go unpunished.[82] Gallonio's father Lazzaro, like his wife, underwent humiliating injustice but refrained from seeking retribution when he had the chance. He intervened in a violent argument and was mortally wounded, yet on his deathbed would not reveal who his assailants had been. Instead, he expressed his worries about whether Antonio would grow up to be a good man.[83]

Public life in Rome in the second half of the sixteenth century was indeed excessively violent. Possession of weapons was widespread, and the inhabitants preferred to take the law into their own hands rather than throw themselves on the mercy of the judicial authorities.[84] The godliness,

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the meantime these archives have reopened to the public). Cistellini quoted an enormous amount of the relevant correspondence in his history of the Oratory.

80 Simon Ditchfield, 'Gallonio, Antonio' in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* LI (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1998) 729–731 (729).

81 Gallonio stated in 1595 that his sister Flaminia had been sick 'sixteen years earlier', thus in 1579, when three of his sisters had already died. Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, I, 187, 191 [A. Gallonio]. Gallonio also reported that Neri at a certain moment forbade his disciple to visit his sister, although she was mortally ill and greatly desired to see her brother for the last time. Whether this relates to the same illness of Flaminia is not known. Ricci, 'Breve notitia di alcuni suoi compagni', 175.

82 '[Cose] del M.P.S. A.G.R. Hebbe bonissimi padre e madre. si viveva in quella casa come in un monastero. Non si vedeva tra quelli di casa portar [vani]tarie ne gli habiti. [. . .] e queste cose tanto piu sono ammirabili, quanto furono in tempi corrottissime, il che si potrà intendere da quel che segue. Era la madre sua bella di corpo andando un[a] [volta] a confessarsi da un religioso, (la cui religione non volse nominare) fù ricercata di dishonestà.', Aringhi, 'Le vite, e detti de padri, e fratelli' in: BibVal Ms. O.58 f. 368ro.

83 'Mori il suo padre, perche voleva spartire alcuni che facevano questione, fù esso ferito e de questo morì nell'infirmità non che volse mai revelare chi l'havesse ferito, non volse farne pure un minimo risentimento, come se non fosse stata cosa sua. Nell'infirmità (credo mi dicesse dell'ultima) i suoi [pens]ieri erano che il P. A. fosse bono, et soleva dire (se ben mi ricordo) ho paura che A. non sii bono,' ibid.

84 Peter Blastenbrei, 'Violence, arms and criminal justice in papal Rome, 1560–1600', *Renaissance Studies* 20 (2006) 68–87 (70–79); idem, *Kriminalität in Rom 1560–1585* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1995); Irene Polverini Fosi, *La Società violenta. Il Banditismo dello Stato pontificio nella seconda metà del Cinquecento* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1985).

forgiveness and self-effacement in Gallonio's family life, the principal characteristics of his youth that we are informed of, were in stark contrast with the prevailing lust and violence. This fits in well with the image of the Oratory as a haven of refuge for those who sought spiritual edification in the midst of moral decay.

According to a note halfway through Zazzara's biographical report, Gallonio came into the world at the place where, after his death, Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte (1549–1627) lived. However, the house where Gallonio was born in 1556 was 'changed' a half century later, when Cardinal Del Monte lived in it.[85] It is known that Del Monte lived in the palace of the Medici family to the east of Piazza Navona, where currently the Senate of the Italian Republic is housed, the so-called Palazzo Madama.

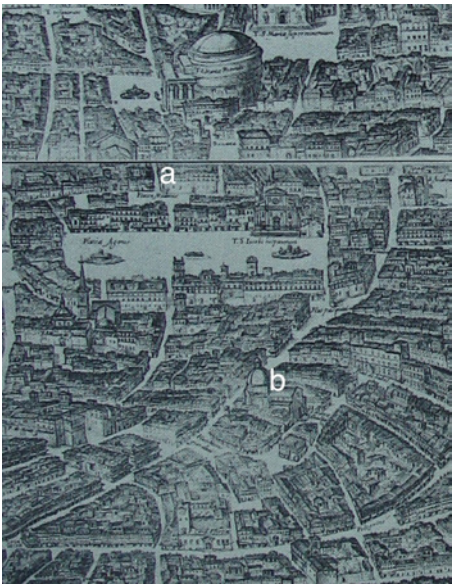

Fig. 1c. Detail from Antonio Tempesta, *Mappa di Roma*, engraving, 1593.
a: Chiesa Nuova
b: Palazzo Madama

[85] 'Nacque questo P. in una casa vicino a S. Luigi dove adesso (mutata però l'habitatione) habita il Cardinal del Monte. Venne da giovenetto di 18 anni incirca nelle mani del B. P. dove con grandissimo fervore si diede al servitio de Dio. fù principalmente grandissimamente esercitato nella mortificazione.', Aringhi, 'Le vite, e detti de padri, e fratelli' in: BibVal Ms. O.58 f. 368ro. Between 'dove adesso' and '(mutata però l'habitatione)' '1602' was inserted later.

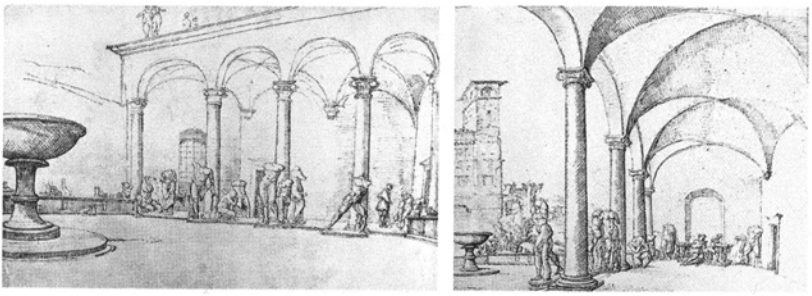

Fig. 1d. Maarten van Heemskerk, drawing, from: Carla Ficola e.a. eds., *Palazzo Madama: dalla famiglia Medici al Senato* (Rome: Archivio di Stato, 2001) 8.

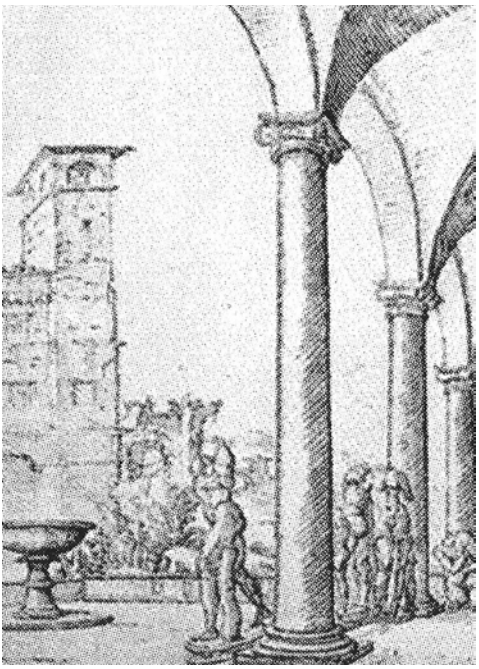

Fig. 1e. Detail from fig. 1d, with on the left the Torre de'Crescenzi.

Halfway through the sixteenth century the palace had been much smaller. This suggests that Gallonio may have been born in a free-standing building which in subsequent decades was incorporated into the Medici palace. Apart from the Medici, important landowners in this area in the sixteenth

century were the monastery of Farfa, the French community in Rome and the powerful Crescenzi family. The last of these landowners is relevant in view of the fact that Gallonio later had dealings with several members of the Crescenzi family. A building with a tower, the so-called Torre de'Crescenzi, later surrounded by the Palazzo Madama, was originally part of the possessions of the Crescenzi. In drawings by Maarten van Heemskerk (1498–1571) done ten years before Gallonio's birth, this building with its accompanying tower can still be seen as a free-standing house outside the Medici complex (Figs. 1c, 1d, 1e).[86] This gives rise to the conjecture that from his earliest days Gallonio was literally in the close vicinity of the Crescenzi family. It is possible that his parents were living as tenants or courtiers in the *Torre Crescenzi*; they were, in any event, their neighbors.

This relationship may have been a determining factor in Gallonio's Oratorian career. It is known that the noble Crescenzi family had contact with the Oratory since 1573 or 1574. Since that year the Florentine priest and his followers acted as witnesses at the christening of the children of Virgilio Crescenzi (†1592) and his wife Costanza del Drago.[87] It is quite possible that Gallonio's first meeting with Neri and his foundation in 1576 occurred via the Crescenzi family.[88]

The connection with this family furthermore familiarized Gallonio with the disciplines that later were reflected in his own writings. The Crescenzi family was active in the administration of justice, in construction and in health care. Virgilio was an influential member of the boards of the hospital of San Giacomo and the Lateran hospital.[89] Gallonio's publication *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus* (1594) contains a foreword by Virgilio's son Pierpaolo (1572–1645).[90] Furthermore, after Neri's death in 1595 Gallonio became Pierpaolo's confessor.[91] Pierpaolo fulfilled his ecclesiastical career in the administration of justice. After holding such offices as *referendarius* (legal adviser) to the *Signatura* and *auditor* (judge) to the *Camera Apostolica*, he eventually became a cardinal and succeeded Cesare Baronio

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[86] Carla Ficola e.a. eds., *Palazzo Madama: dalla famiglia Medici al Senato* (Rome: Archivio di Stato, 2001) 7–12; Zygmunt Waźbiński, *Il cardinale Francesco Maria del Monte: 1549–1626* (Florence: Olschki, 1994) I, 113–118.

[87] Marieke von Bernstorff, *Agent und Maler als Akteure im Kunstbetrieb des frühen 17. Jahrhunderts. Giovan Battista Crescenzi und Bartolomeo Cavarozzi* (Munich: Hirmer, 2010) 16.

[88] Ditchfield, 'Gallonio, Antonio', 729.

[89] L. Spezzaferro, 'Crescenzi, Giovanni Battista' in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* XXX *Cosattini-Crispolto* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1984) 636–641.

[90] Antonio Gallonio, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus liber* (Rome: Tipografia della Congregazione dell'Oratorio, 1594) +3ro–+4vo, ++^{ro}.

[91] Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, II, 71 [P.P. Crescenzi].

as incumbent of Santi Nereo ed Achilleo.[92] Pierpaolo's brother Giovanni Battista (1577–1635) was not only the painter of, among other things, a depiction of Saint Flavia Domitilla that Gallonio used in 1598 during the festivities on the occasion of the commemoration of the death of Neri; he also acted as architect for the Spanish monarchy, while in Rome he was a member of a commission that supervised the aqueducts that had been built on the orders of Sixtus V (1521–1590, pope 1585).[93] Gallonio did not have to look far to come into contact with matters related to law, medicine and engineering.

In the meantime, Gallonio's own career resembled more that of the oldest son of Virgilio and the brother of Pierpaolo and Giovanni Battista, the priest Giacomo Crescenzi (1570–1638), who, as abbot of Sant'Eutizio, worked actively in the pastoral care of the parishes that fell under his abbey.[94] Gallonio seems likewise to have dedicated his clerical career to the pastoral and spiritual edification of his confessants. Before entering the priesthood, Gallonio must have enjoyed some sort of academic schooling. His biographer Ricci reported that he was so intelligent and industrious that at the age of eighteen he was already teaching theology. Ricci does not state at which establishment this was, and the statement cannot be verified.[95] Gallonio certainly did have theological and philosophical interests. There were many theological works among the books in his possession, as well as works by Aristotle and commentaries on them.[96]

After Gallonio had come into contact with the circle surrounding Neri in 1576, the latter made sure his new pupil renounced his orientation towards abstract matters and shifted his attention to more practical issues, both in his studies and in his daily activities.[97] After having received the tonsure and the lower clerical orders in 1577, Gallonio joined the core of Neri's organization, the Congregation of the Oratory of Rome. In 1584 as a subdeacon he was given a chaplaincy in the church of Sant'Angelo in

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92 Irene Fosi, 'Crescenzi, Pier Paolo' in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* XXX *Cosattini-Crispolto* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1984) 648–649.

93 ACO Vol. C.I.36 ff. 27vo; Spezzaferro, 'Crescenzi, Giovanni Battista'; Von Bernstorff, *Agent und Maler*, 18.

94 Irene Fosi, 'Crescenzi, Giacomo' in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* XXX *Cosattini-Crispolto* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1984) 634–636; Pietro Pirri, *L'Abbazia di S. Eutizio in Val Castoriana presso Norcia* (Castelplanio: L. Romagnoli, 1912).

95 'quantunque fosse versato nelle scienze con tal vivacità d'ingegno, e con tal applicazione di studio, che in età di diciotto annu fù Maestro, e Lettore di Teologia,' Ricci, 'Breve notitia di alcuni suoi compagni', 171–172.

96 ASR, Notai A.C. Vol. 66 ff. 109ro–114vo, 131ro–134ro.

97 Ditchfield, 'Gallonio, Antonio', 729.

Foro Pescatorio, which he relinquished three years later. He brought the chaplaincy under the auspices of the Congregation, though not without reserving an annual payment of seventy golden ducats for himself. At the end of 1585 he celebrated his first mass as a brand new priest.[98] In 1587 Gallonio participated for the first time in the election of the board of the Congregation, and in the 1590s he was himself appointed to take part in administrative functions. In 1590 he assisted Giovanni Francesco Bordini (1536–1609) in his duties as head of the parish, as coordinator of the daily readings during meals, and as librarian of the Oratory.[99] More responsibility followed in the succeeding years. In 1593 Gallonio became head of the library for a period of three years, a library that had grown continually since its foundation in 1581, principally as the result of inheritances left by deceased Oratorians and sympathizers.[100] Gallonio's own previously mentioned legacy of four hundred books was a considerable but not unusual number of books to be bequeathed to the Oratorian library. The first substantial bequest in 1581 was made by the Portuguese philologist Aquiles Estaço (1524–1581), with 1,700 items of printed material and 300 manuscripts. In 1595 Filippo Neri left more than five hundred printed books and several dozen manuscripts to the Oratory.[101] With such sizeable donations, which extended far beyond theology, ecclesiastical law and devotional subjects to include astronomy, natural history and poetry, Gallonio had important study material close at hand.

One year after the death of Neri in 1595, Gallonio assisted Agostino Manni (†1618), prefect of the group that became known as the *Oratorio piccolo de'secolari*, a group of laymen who developed devotional activities within the Oratorian complex in the Vallicella. In 1602 Gallonio became prefect of the *Oratorio della chiesa*, the organization that took care of the central pastoral activities of the Congregation.[102] Gallonio had gained a certain distinction within the organization after a quarter of a century of involvement. This became apparent during the conflicts between the

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[98] Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, I, 231, 409; Agostino Manni mentioned the first mass of 'our Gallonio' in a letter to fellow Oratorian Pompeo Pateri, 28 December 1585, Rome, ACO Vol. B.III.1 f. 222vo; for the union of the chaplaincy with the Congregation of the Oratory: 'Resignatio cum unione ac reservatione fructuum Urbis', ACO Vol. P.I.3 no. 9.1.

[99] Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, I, 497, 687.

[100] Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, II, 870.

[101] Pinto, *La Biblioteca Vallicelliana*, 24–25, 31–46; 'Benemeritorum de Vallicellana Bibliotheca Congregationis Oratorii Romani Eorum scilicet, qui suis Testamento relictis libris illam locuplentem reddiderunt Aeternum Posteris Monumentum' in: BibVal Ms. P.206.

[102] Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, II, 1047, 1491.

Oratory in Rome and its sister organization that had established itself in Naples in 1585. Because he had known Neri personally, Gallonio was one of the members to be called upon to give his opinion about the original basic principles of the Oratory, which were the cause of increasing disagreement between the Roman and the Neapolitan house.[103]

Gallonio's position in the Congregation was very dependent on his close bond with its founder. The leader of the Oratory also had a special preference for his devoted follower, who for his part took pride in abandoning himself to the service of his charismatic mentor.[104] Once he was fully accepted within the organization, he served his Florentine leader with dedication. Zazzara described him as 'vero figliuolo del nostro Beato Padre', a veritable son of their blessed father, Neri.[105] Gallonio acted as writer of Neri's correspondence, was Neri's constant companion, and assisted him in liturgical tasks. He had a room under that of Neri's, helped him rise in the mornings, and as soon as he heard sounds from above ran to see if his mentor needed anything.[106] Gallonio was constantly ready to hurry to Neri's side for the slightest reason, and was prepared to serve his every wish.

As Neri's companion, Gallonio regularly came into contact with high-ranking persons. For example, around 1590 he accompanied his spiritual leader during a visit to Marchioness Giulia Rangoni Orsini (1535–1598), at which the Spanish Ambassador in Rome and his wife were also present. At about the same time Pope Gregory XIV (1535–1591, pope 1590) received Neri in his private quarters and said that he found the Florentine more praiseworthy than himself; Gallonio was also present at this meeting. Such encounters underscore that Gallonio was no stranger to the higher echelons of society. In later years Gallonio acted as a contact person in order to arrange the dealings between Neri and others. During this period, Gallonio determined to an increasing extent who was to be given access to his spiritual leader. On a number of occasions Neri was annoyed with his disciple for turning prospective visitors away in order to spare

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[103] Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, II, 1478. On the founding of the Oratory of Naples: Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, I, 353–409.

[104] ACO Vol. P.I.3 no. 9.5; Ditchfield, 'Gallonio, Antonio', 729.

[105] 'in somma vero figliuolo del nro. B. Pre.', Aringhi, 'Le vite, e detti de padri, e fratelli' in: BibVal Ms. O.58 f. 365vo; Ricci, 'Breve notitia di alcuni suoi compagni', 177–178.

[106] Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri,* I, 521–522; Ricci, 'Breve notitia di alcuni suoi compagni', 171; Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, I, 176–177 [A. Gallonio].

the old man the effort of receiving them.[107] This suggests that Gallonio started to set his own criteria as to who was worthy of meeting with Neri face to face.

A constant feature of Gallonio's life was *mortificatione*, or mortification, ordeals that were intended to counter earthly lusts, longings and unacceptable social habits.[108] Neri constantly invented tasks in order to humiliate his follower or to put him into difficult situations. Gallonio developed an aversion to himself and to everything that could bring honor to him. He presented himself as stupid and ignorant, although he was decidedly not so. This constant renunciation of the world also lay at the foundation of his unconditional readiness to serve—and his obedience to—Neri. However, Gallonio had a tempestuous character. It is clear that he had trouble maintaining his self-control, and was also inclined to push ascesis beyond the limit.[109] Neri had his favorite do all manner of things, such as singing and dancing during their visit to the Marchioness Rangoni Orsini, or reading out loud from the biography of the medieval tyrant Cola di Rienzo in the refectory of the Oratory, to the dismay—and hilarity—of the others. Initially, Gallonio was angry about such trials and tribulations, and even reached the point of leaving the Congregation. Tommaso Bozio convinced him to remain. When Gallonio apologized to his spiritual leader he was told that such exercises were necessary in order for him to learn to curb his impetuous nature.[110]

Gallonio's tendency to excesses resulting from his ardent desire to do good also caused tensions in his associations with women. According to the biographies, Gallonio was totally untroubled by carnal lust because, as he said in his own words, Neri regularly beat him about the ribs.[111] Nevertheless, Neri still warned his pupil to stay away from women because they

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[107] Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, I, 56–57 [F. Zazzara], 183, 186, 192 [A. Gallonio].

[108] Zazzara begins his characterization of Gallonio as follows: 'L'ho sempre conosciuto per gran servo di Dio sprezzatore di sestesso [*sic*], e dato tutto alle mortificationi', ACO Vol. P.I.3 no. 9.5.

[109] Ricci, 'Breve notitia di alcuni suoi compagni', 170–172; Marciano, *Memorie historiche*, I, 513.

[110] 'sei di natura vivace', Aringhi, 'Le vite, e detti de padri, e fratelli' in: BibVal Ms. O.58 f. 369vo.

[111] 'Mi ricordo haver inteso da lui che il Beato filippo lo soleva alle volte pizzicare [. . .] forte, sopra le coste, che lui credeva che per tal mezzo il B. P.re gl'imperasse la purità poiche non ricordava haver havuto tentationi impure, se non una, o due volte, quali credeva esser stati suoi scrupol[i]', Aringhi, 'Le vite, e detti de padri, e fratelli' in: BibVal Ms. O.58 f. 365ro; 'il Santo Vecchio era solito di pizzicarlo di quando in quando sopra le coste con tal vehemenza, che molto gli doleva, e dal contatto di quelle Sacre mani cre-

could plunge him, unlike Neri, into sin.[112] This notwithstanding, Gallonio heard confession of young unmarried women in particular. He took charge of the spiritual care of a community of young ladies who, under the leadership of the sisters Raida, Antonina (†1622) and Cassandra (†1622), were undergoing intensive teaching to become nuns or pious wives. The Raida sisters confessed at the Oratory, and they also carried out domestic work for the Congregation, such as Neri's laundry. In the house of these sisters, which was situated behind the Chiesa Nuova, there lived 'dozens of virgins'. The Oratorian Francesco Maria Tarugi (1525–1608) compared Gallonio as spiritual leader of these young women with Hilarion, confessor to Saint Ursula and her thousands of virginal companions.[113] Gallonio refused to hear the confession of anyone but girls who kept no company with men. This went so far that as soon as one of his female confessants married, he banished her from his thoughts. This earned him the nickname of *confessore delle zitelle*, 'confessor of the spinsters'.[114]

In a letter of 1588 to Tarugi, who was in Naples at the time, Gallonio wrote about the first girl, a converted Muslim, who had become a nun under his leadership. In the beginning she had made nothing but obscene gestures and blasphemous utterances during catechism. After she had been given a crucifix she repented, and became a model of piety. Thereafter, she underwent all Gallonio's punishments without any sign of reluctance.[115]

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deva d'haver ricevuto sì gran favore', Ricci, 'Breve notitia di alcuni suoi compagni', 173; Marciano, *Memorie historiche*, I, 515.

[112] Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, II, 47 [A. Gallonio]; Ricci, 'Breve notitia di alcuni suoi compagni', 174.

[113] Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, III, 180 n. 2031 [A. Pecorilli], 185 [A. Raida]. Antonina and Cassandra Raida themselves spoke of 'zitelle a dozina', ibid., IV, 49 [C. Raida, A. Raida]. Tarugi's comparison between Gallonio and S. Hilarion: 'Quando occorre la festa di S. Hilarione, si fa la commemorazione insieme di S. Orsola, e di quel bello stuolo dell'undici mila Vergini, che col vestimento fregiato di color candido e vermiglio, se ne volarono trionfanti al Cielo. Mi par sempre che recito nella sua festa quell'offizio, di veder S. Hilarione Rettore, e Padre spirituale di quel numeroso ministerio. Nel medesimo modo contemplo io voi con la casa di Madonna Antonina, e con le Verginelle, che ivi crescono nelle virtù, e nello spirito', Ricci, 'Breve notitia di alcuni suoi compagni', 173.

[114] 'Haveva tanto in abominazione il vizio dell'impurità, che non soleva confessare se non zitelle, e pochissimi huomini [. . .], e come qualcuna delle sue zitelle pigliava marito che era rarissime volte, esso non le voleva più confessare per non haver occasione di sentir cosa che lo potesse offendere, talmente che esso era chiamato il confessore delle zitelle. Per questo era divotissimo delle verginelle, e di santi putti, o altri, insigni in purità.' Aringhi, 'Le vite, e detti de padri, e fratelli' in: BibVal Ms. O.58 f. 365ro.

[115] 'ò Padre mio come sono occulti li giuditii, o come imperscrutabili, deh chi haveva mai potuto pensare ò pur persuadersi, che la prima delle mie in xpo. figliole, che si dovevano dedicare, offerire, e sposare à Giesù, doveva essere una già Turca [. . .] mentre che era con tanta charità instrutta nella santa fede, non voleva a cosa alcuna, che se li diceva dare

The priest was constantly involved with young women in his pastoral work, although he would have much preferred to have had as little exposure as possible to the temptations of the fair sex. The confrontation with women appeared to be a trial that Neri had imposed upon Gallonio, just like the public humiliation of Baronio. The same tension characterizes his hagiographical work: in it he dealt with all manner of worldly aspects of the cult of the saints, while it was precisely the saints' renunciations of the world that he applauded.

Gallonio's functioning in the Oratory was not unquestioned, and his relationship with the other members of the Congregation was subject to all manner of stress. The conflict with Baronio about the qualities of the latter's historical studies has already been mentioned. Another source of irritation was Gallonio's catechetical work. Although he was known as the *confessore delle zitelle*, he also regularly invited some twenty or so boys and young men between the ages of five and twenty-five to the Oratory. He taught them, but they also played games and made music, which displeased some of his fellow members of the order. In about 1592 Gallonio was at loggerheads with critical members of the Congregation, including Pompeo Pateri (1546–1624), who was the most outspoken. While Pateri and Baronio endeavored to structure the devotional and pastoral activities, Neri and Gallonio stubbornly clung to the idea of a less regulated, more open organization.

In June 1592, emissaries of the Bishop of Pavia and of the Duke of Mantua came to the Oratorian complex in de Vallicella in order to confer with Baronio about the bishop's position. It was intended that the discussion take place in the library. However, at the time Gallonio was in the company of a group of his boys there, and he and Neri refused to send them away since access to the library was supposed to be free to all. Pateri and Bozio were compelled to intervene in the matter to prevent an affront to the eminent visitors. The youths seem to have been a constant source of annoyance to some members of the Congregation. In a letter to the Neapolitan Oratorian, Antonio Talpa (1536–1624), Pateri, for example, complained about the youths, who played chess, made music, ate and drank, ran around and played with a ball in rooms, such as the library, within the

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orecchio; anzi faceva gesti tali, che non zitella, ma un fiero Demonio pareva: Soleva essa dir queste parole, mi havere il cuor'fino, fino Moro [. . .] l'ha tanta stacchata l'Sposo suo, che [...] da questo stacchamento vene à tale segno, che mortificandola come mi pareva mai la trovai renitente, anzi sempre prontissima, so che molto la mortificavo, se bene io ero quello che ne havevo bisogno, che di vivezze son'pieno.' ACO Vol. P.I.3 no. 9.2.

Oratorian complex. In 1597, after Neri's death, their presence—just like a comparable catechetical initiative by Pietro Consolini (1565–1643)—was reason for several doors to be bricked up and a stricter policy on access to be implemented. From 1596 the Congregation began to structure the education of interested young parties in the form of a noviciate. In addition, the Oratory took care of the *Oratorio piccolo de'secolari*. Gallonio assisted Agostino Manni in the coordination of this.[116]

While Gallonio's relationship with some fellow members of his order was strained, he did have some valued friends and acquaintances outside the organization. Apart from contact with the Crescenzi family, Gallonio regularly met with the equally noble Massimo family—possibly through his affiliation with the former, seeing that Giovanni Battista Crescenzi, who has been mentioned earlier, married Anna Massimo in 1601.[117] Her father, Fabrizio Massimo, ever since the pontificate of Pius IV (1499–1565, pope 1560), had displayed a strong devotion to Neri. The most spectacular miracle attributed to Neri was in fact for the benefit of the Massimo family. In 1583 Neri brought Fabrizio's newly deceased son Paolo briefly to life again so that he could confess—and pass water—before disappearing definitively from the land of the living.[118] Later, Fabrizio Massimo and his son Pietro, brother of the deceased Paolo, were to be found regularly in the company of Neri, and thus also of Gallonio, for example during the *Visita delle Sette Chiese*, the procession that Neri organized each year as an alternative to the worldly carnival.[119] Gallonio was himself confessor to Elena Massimo, a daughter of Fabrizio who had also lived in the house of Raida, and he wrote her life story after she had died as a thirteen-year-old girl in 1593.[120] One of the occasions on which Pompeo Pateri was put out by Gallonio's behavior was when the latter was absent at a time when the Congregation had become short of manpower in 1592. In that year, and again later in 1596, Gallonio was sojourning in the Massimo family's castle in Arsoli, fifty kilometers to the east of Rome.[121] In October of 1592

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[116] Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, I, 781, 784–786; II, 788, 1132, 1138.

[117] Von Bernstorff, *Agent und Maler*, 17.

[118] U.M. Lang, 'The miracle of St. Philip Neri in the Palazzo Massimo', *Annales Oratorii* 2 (2003) 87–108; Maria Teresa Bonadonna Russo, 'Quarto centenario del miracolo di Casa Massimo', *L'Urbe* 46 (1983) 1–12.

[119] Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, 190–191 [A. Gallonio]; Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, I, 558 n. 19.

[120] Bonadonna Russo, 'Quarto centenario', 3; Antonio Gallonio, *Istoria di Helena de' Massimi vergine romana*, ed. Domenico Rebaudengo (Rome: Salviucci, 1857) 29 n. 1.

[121] Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, II, 909–910 n. 156 and 1085 n. 103.

Gallonio even acted as a witness to the promulgation of a document that settled a conflict between Fabrizio Massimo and several dozens of his subordinates in Arsoli.[122]

Apart from these noble Roman families, Gallonio also had dealings with clerics outside the Oratory. The aristocratic families and the clergy overlapped to some extent. Mentioned earlier were Pierpaolo and Giacomo Crescenzi, respectively a member of the Curia and an abbot. For a large part of the second half of 1599 Gallonio was in the abbey of Sant'Eutizio in Umbria as a guest of Abbot Giacomo Crescenzi, in order to complete the *Vita* of Neri before the dawning of the coming jubilee year.[123] Another cleric that stemmed from the local nobility was Marcello Vitelleschi (1566–1638), the brother of Muzio Vitelleschi, Superior General of the Society of Jesus from 1615 to 1645. Marcello Vitelleschi and Pietro Massimo were cousins via their mothers. Neri had regularly allowed them to come and play at the Oratory while they were still children.[124] In the mid-1580s, Neri, Vitelleschi, Massimo and Gallonio were sharing a carriage during the *Visita delle Sette Chiese* when it ended up in a ditch as the result of poor visibility caused by a downpour. No one was injured, but it appears that one of the two horses had become stuck and was in danger of drowning. Ultimately all turned out well, and they were able to continue their journey.[125] It could have been such an occasion that brought Gallonio and Vitelleschi into contact with one another. Where Gallonio made use of manuscripts that did not belong to the library of the Congregation, they were often manuscripts from the collection of the Chapter of Santa Maria Maggiore. Vitelleschi, who in 1591 became canon at this basilica, is an obvious candidate to have supplied such information, even more so as he compiled an inventory of the documents that the chapter possessed.[126] Vitelleschi was involved after 1595 in the organization

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122 Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, I, 203 n. 565 [F. Massimo].

123 Cistellini, II, *San Filippo Neri*, 1324.

124 Cistellini, I, 98 n. 174. Marcello Vitelleschi was the son of Sigismonda de'Rustici, who was related to Lavinia de'Rustici, the first wife of Fabrizio Massimo and mother of Pietro Massimo. Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, I, 270–271 n. 704 [M. Vitelleschi].

125 Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, I, 278–279 [M. Vitelleschi], 13–14 [F. Della Molara], 190–191 [A. Gallonio].

126 Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, I, 604 n. 179; Antonio Maria Santarelli, *Memorie notabili della Basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore, e di alcuni suoi canonici* (Rome: F. Cavalli, 1647) 19–20.

that Gallonio coordinated for the annual celebrations in memory of the deceased Neri.[127]

By far the most important prelate that Gallonio personally got to know outside of the Congregation of the Oratory was Cardinal Federico Borromeo, cousin of Carlo Borromeo, who was to be canonized in 1610. They must have developed bonds of friendship in the early years of Federico's sojourn in Rome between 1586 and 1595. In any event, Borromeo already frequented the Oratory, such as when he visited the Vallicella in 1588 and joined the dinner where, among others, Fabrizio Massimo and his son Pietro were present.[128] Gallonio's relationship with Borromeo was so close that the former managed—at Neri's request—to obtain a charitable gift from the cardinal that partly covered Neri's living expenses.[129] Gallonio shared the cardinal's interest in hagiography, and they exchanged correspondence on the subject.[130] According to Gallonio, he and the cardinal regularly kept company together.[131] Borromeo knew Gallonio well enough to be able, after the latter's death, to expound to Zazzara on a particular point of Gallonio's inner spiritual experience. The cardinal explained that Gallonio, who had complained for years that he suffered from an inner cross, had meant by this the agony of a continual fear of offending God.[132]

Gallonio died comparatively young, at the age of 49, on May 16, 1605, the day of the election of Paul V (1552–1621, pope 1605). The reaction of the board of the Oratory was characteristic. On the very day that Gallonio died

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127 See chapters 2 and 3.

128 Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, I, 558 n. 19; III, 1497.

129 Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, I, 192 [A. Gallonio].

130 Francesco Zazzara once wrote to the cardinal on behalf of Gallonio to ask for documentation about the lives of twenty-six sainted Bishops of Milan: Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, III, 1497; Gallonio himself asked Borromeo in 1604 for a copy of the *historia* of the martyrs Taracus, Probus and Andronicus: 'La causa che hora mi ha spinto à scriverle e stato particolarmente per pregarla che mi voglia fare havere una copia della historia de santi martyri Taraco, Probo, et Andronico, che mi ricordo haverla veduta in Roma in uno manoscritto antico di V.S. Ill.ma, il quale mi pare che mandasse à Milano, era quel manoscritto, si male non mi ricordo, della sua Badia,' Gallonio to Borromeo, 1604 jan 23, BA Ms. G.193inf f. 38ro.

131 'quando eravamo insieme (che era spesso) non si ragionava d'altri, che della santità del detto p. Filippo.' Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, I, 195–196 [A. Gallonio].

132 'era q.a sua croce per quanto dalle parole piu volte da lui detteme hó possuto comprendere, et anco per quello che doppo la morte di d.o P. Ant.o mi disse l'Ill.mo s.r car.le Borromeo, era dico un continouo timore, et spavento di non offendere S. D. M.a et essendo q.o timore cosa interiore, et spirituale, tanto spesse volte per operatione del Demonio se gl'accresceva, che essendo in letto, et di mezza notte, si levava, gridava á Dio, si gettava per terra', Aringhi, 'Le vite, e detti de padri, e fratelli' in: BibVal Ms. O.58 ff. 365ro; reproduced in Ricci, 'Breve notitia di alcuni suoi compagni', 177–178.

the Congregation forbade the weekly gathering of a group of unnamed men and confessants in his room. In this way, Gallonio's demise was an occasion for them to put an end to an unusual custom that they feared could have awkward consequences. His death sorrowed some Oratorians, but it must have also been a relief that his idiosyncratic way of working could no longer create difficult situations.[133] Gallonio died after a brief but restless illness that was accompanied by a delirious fever. Although, according to the published biography by Ricci, his last moments were peaceful, in an unpublished dossier by Paolo Aringhi there is an alternative version in which Gallonio met his end screaming. He begged Pietro Consolini for help in order that God could free him as quickly as possible from purgatory. Despite the reassuring words from Father Consolini, Gallonio lost his mind before he breathed his last breath.[134]

In the chapters that follow, I shall study the hagiographical works of this headstrong, difficult Oratorian, turbulent ascetic, and favorite of Neri, who had distinguished and important contacts both within the Church and outside of it. His efforts to live a life of humility and self-effacement, often thwarted both by practical needs and a failing sense of moderation, are reflected in his hagiographical oeuvre. Although membership of the Oratory of Rome was a defining factor in all his documented activities, his continuous contact with priests and laymen outside the Congregation—Borromeo, Vitelleschi, the Crescenzi and Massimo families, his female confessants, his youths—was also of importance. The efforts and aspirations of priests and laity with whom he had dealings both within and outside the Oratory determined how he gave shape to his hagiographical works.

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[133] Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, III, 1698–1700; ACO Vol. C.I.5 f. 85 and Vol. P.I.3 no. 9.3.

[134] 'P. Pietro vi prégo per carità, che dopo morirò mi aiuterá a liberarmi quanto prima dalle pene del Purgatorio. Aiutatemi Padre, Aiutatemi, e non vi scordate di me. Il ciò detto fu [. . .] da esso con dolci parole consolato, et esortato a non temere, ma a confidare nella bonta, e misericordia del Signore, e nell'orationi di tutti i Padri che l'harebbono con la loro carità, e conforme all'obbligo suo, aiutato. Ne passò molto che cominciò il male ad ocuparla testa e da indi in poi stando come fuori di se non parlò più à proposito. Gli fu fatta la racomandatione dell'anima.' Aringhi, 'Le vite, e detti de padri, e fratelli' in: BibVal Ms. O.58 f. 372vo.

CHAPTER TWO

HAGIOGRAPHY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

Gallonio devoted a large part of his life to the collection and reworking of hagiographical texts. This chapter deals with the most obvious aspect of Gallonio's work: saints belonged to the past; texts about saints were by definition historical texts. This past might be as recent as the decades preceding the moment that their life stories were put into writing, as in the case of the *Vita* of Filippo Neri, or it might go back centuries. Many of the saints about whom Gallonio collected texts had lived in Late Antiquity. In essence, there was no difference between them and saints from medieval and modern times. In every period, saints were considered to have had similar qualities. Nevertheless, the first centuries after Christ were favored among ecclesiastical writers in the Counter-Reformation. Temporal closeness to Christ and the Apostles suggested exposure to the unadulterated teachings and practices of Christianity in its most authentic form.

Members of the Oratory of Rome wrote texts about saints on a daily basis, and lectured about them to an audience, much as they did with ecclesiastical history and Christian ethics. In his hagiographical texts and lectures, Gallonio presented ancient models of Christian glory and martyrdom for the instruction and edification of his contemporaries. The distance in time between the martyrs of the Roman Empire and Gallonio's Counter-Reformation readership became irrelevant in view of the endless repetition of virtues and actions denoting the true Church of Christ. But apart from the rhetorical requirements of such pedagogical texts, Gallonio also went to great pains to substantiate the factuality of the life stories, often at the expense of readability. To this end, he drew upon as many historical sources as possible from all imaginable genres, secular as well as ecclesiastical, some of them in fact quite unconventional.

The perceived recurrence of distinct features of sacred history enabled Gallonio to map analogies between the distant past and his own time. He pointed out how God favored some of his contemporaries as much as their saintly predecessors by stressing parallels between their lives. Pope Clement I (†97ca., pope 88) and Church Father Gregory (540ca.–604, pope 590), especially, were historical figures that Gallonio and other Oratorians put forward as ideal predecessors that sixteenth-century clerics should—and did—emulate.

2.1 *Hagiography and* Historia sacra

Gallonio collected a wide diversity of historical texts containing hagiographical elements. He drew on these for his own works on saints. With ease the priest selected historical elements of source texts of different genres from different periods and different geographical origins and combined them within his own writings. This was a consequence of a perception of history that differs from our own. In this perception the past was not alien or inaccessible, but rather appeared to display numerous events and characteristics that could recur in his own time.

Hagiographical Genres: The Versatility of Gallonio

During the first half of 1595 Fabrizio Paolucci (1556–1625), a cleric in Rome, corresponded avidly with a variety of people in northeastern Italy in order to obtain source texts for Gallonio.[1] For example, Paolucci asked Francesco Quaini in Imola, twenty miles from Bologna, to make an inventory of the saints that were venerated in his town. In his answer, Quaini stated that he could make available immediately the *vitae* of the early medieval saints John Cassian and Peter Chrysologus, culled from historical documents relating to Imola. He also had at his disposal the biographical texts that were part of these saints' *officia*, used for the liturgical celebrations of their saint's days.[2]

Quaini distilled the *vitae* of Saints Cassian and Chrysologus from historiography. In doing so, he did not dwell upon how these urban chronicles related to liturgical texts or other historical sources. The Oratorians for their part used the received texts indistinctively for their own work. Texts about saints could be found in different genres, could appear in different forms and could serve as sources for new hagiographical texts. A brief mention in a church chronicle could reappear to the letter in a literary stylized biography, or in a stringently formalized liturgical verse. Gallonio

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[1] The correspondence of Paolucci and several others that relate to Gallonio's large-scale hagiographical undertaking are mainly in BibVal Mss. H.3 and H.8[I]. More attention will be devoted to the network of correspondents in § 6.1.

[2] 'L'altra sera altardi da ms. Francesco Bandini intesi il desiderio di V.S. di havere di quà la [stata] de Corpi Santi, che se ritrovano nella nostra Città, con la vita loro, Pertanto havendo alcuni fragmenti dell'Historie della Città me so posto a cercare, et hò trovato di presente l'incluse vite di santi Cassiano, et Santo Petro Crisologo, le quali mando à V.S. assieme con le lettioni, che nelle loro feste la nostra Città legge e celebra nell'officii santi.' BibVal Ms. H.3 ff. 41[ro].

collected most forms and genres at random, and he reworked them in a variety of hagiographical genres.

The first Christian hagiographical texts were the *acta* and *passiones martyrum*, which described more or less schematically the deaths of the first victims of the persecution of Christians. After its first manifestations, hagiography became intermingled in different forms with panegyric biography and historiography. In the Middle Ages the biographical *vita* developed, with a fixed construction: the life story of the saint from birth to death, often followed by an overview of the miracles and the virtues that were intended to make the saint recognizable to mankind as a chosen one of God.[3] In general, hagiographical texts are strongly stylized. Their language can be very simple, but also complex and rhetorical. The narrative may be devoid of indications of chronology and location or, in contrast, may contain large amounts of historical context, such as descriptions of the scene of the action and of the secondary characters and their relatives. The texts can contain a varying amount of biblical, patristic or hagiographical borrowings. The shortest hagiographical text is the mention of the name of a saint in a liturgical work of reference. However, hagiographical texts can also be hundreds of pages long.[4]

Frequently occurring genres of hagiographical texts in which textual conventions severely limit authors' freedom in writing are *martyrologia* and the *lectiones* of an *officium*. A *martyrologium* contains brief descriptions of the lives and deaths of a number of saints, and of the peregrinations of their relics. In the last quarter of the sixteenth century the *martyrologium* gained a fixed place in the constellation of standard liturgical works that was defined in the wake of the Council of Trent (1545–1563). Cesare Baronio, fellow Oratorian of Gallonio and the author of the *Annales ecclesiastici*, was an important member of the commission that produced the Tridentine *Martyrologium Romanum*, of which the first edition to receive papal recognition appeared in 1584. This book was conceived as the definitive work that established which saints the Roman Catholic Church should venerate worldwide. In 1586 a new edition came out with extensive notes containing historical information, source texts

[3] René Aigrain, *L'Hagiographie: ses sources, ses methodes, son histoire* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 2000 [repr. of Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1953]) 132–170; Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les légendes hagiographiques* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1955[4] [1905]) 12–100.

[4] Régis Boyer, 'The typology of medieval hagiography' in: Hans Bekker-Nielsen e.a. eds., *Hagiography and medieval literature: a symposium* (Odense: Odense University Press, 1981) 27–36 (31–35).

and explanations, written for a large part by Baronio. The compilation of the *Martyrologium* was closely related to that of the revised *Breviarium Romanum* (1568). This contained the liturgical routine prescribed for every day of the year. Part of this liturgical routine was the obeisance, in the form of the *officium*, to the saints who were venerated day after day. The *officium* contained the *lectiones*, short biographical texts used at set times of the day for the worship of a saint.[5]

While *martyrologium* and *officia* were standardized in the second half of the sixteenth century, other hagiographical genres were not so clearly defined. A saint's life could easily take the character of a collection of miracles, while the life story of a martyr could turn into a drawn-out account of gruesome violence. In the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, humanists tried to shape hagiographical life stories more closely on the model of the classical biography. Erasmus' *vita* of Jerome (345ca.–420) was the most concrete result of this. Simple enumerations of miracles were absolutely out of the question; the narrative had to eloquently evoke the protagonist's Christian virtues. This type of hagiography was not a success. The staccato style and the conventional miraculous elements ultimately remained the determining factors for hagiographical texts. The classical genres of biography and historiography embraced by humanists were difficult to reconcile with the medieval genres of hagiography that were part and parcel of religious culture.[6]

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[5] Giuseppe Antonio Guazzelli, 'Cesare Baronio e il *Martyrologium Romanum*: problemi interpretativi e linee evolutive di un rapporto diacronico' in: Massimo Firpo ed., *Nunc alia tempora, alii mores. Storici e storia in età postridentina. Atti del Convegno internazionale Torino, 24–27 settembre 2003* (Florence: Olschki, 2005) 47–89 (55–59); Aigrain, *L'Hagiographie*, 11–106; Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the preservation of the particular* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 19–44.

[6] Simon Ditchfield, 'Sanctity in Early-Modern Italy', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 47 (1996) 98–112 (105–110); idem, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History*, 117–123; Adriano Prosperi, 'L'elemento storico nelle polemiche sulla santità' in: Gabriella Zarri ed., *Finzione e santità tra medioevo ed età moderna* (Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1991); according to Eric Cochrane, hagiography and ecclesiastical history have developed separately from profane historiography. He places little value on *historia sacra,* which he sees as more conservative and more manipulative than profane historiography. Eric Cochrane, *Historians and historiography in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981) 445–478. But Anthony Grafton recently highlighted innovative aspects of early modern ecclesiastical historiography: Anthony Grafton, 'Church History in Early Modern Europe: Tradition and Innovation' in: Katherine van Liere, Simon Ditchfield and Howard Louthan eds., *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) 3–26. For hagiography and Renaissance humanism: Alison Knowles Frazier, *Possible Lives: Authors and Saints in Renaissance Italy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005); D.M. Webb, 'Sanctity and history: Antonio Agli and humanist historiography' in: P. Denley and

Nevertheless, humanist tendencies did not leave hagiography unaffected. In the course of the sixteenth century, the writers of saints' lives and compilers of hagiographical collections tried to base their texts on reliable sources on a par with new conventions in historiography.[7] The efforts of Gallonio to bring together as many variants of specific hagiographical texts as possible is an instance of this tendency. From a cursory overview of the manuscripts which contain the collection of Gallonio, it is immediately apparent that he did not limit himself to a particular genre. *Vitae*, passion stories, miracles, local anthologies, hymns and liturgical texts ended up indiscriminately together in these volumes. The diversity of sources for the biographical accounts of Cassian and Chrysologus that Quaini touched upon in his letter to Paolucci is typical of Gallonio's collection as a whole.

Gallonio's own hagiographical output began with addresses in the Oratory of Rome. Every afternoon, those visitors who wished to do so could attend a meeting of the Oratory. This so-called *Oratorio Grande* was carefully orchestrated. A member of the Oratory read a moral or spiritual text as the visitors entered. Once a sufficiently large audience had arrived, a speaker who was associated with the Oratory began to give a lecture, often relating to the text that had been read. After this, a second speaker stood up and took up the theme of the first person's address. In the form of a dialogue, the speakers then elaborated on the theme. Thereafter followed a further two lectures, one on ecclesiastical history, the other on the life of a saint. The saint discussed provided the starting point for a lesson in how a Christian should live his life. After Gallonio joined the group around Neri in 1577, he applied himself to the addresses about the lives of saints.[8] Just as Baronio had prepared and elaborated the *Annales ecclesiastici* in support of his lectures on ecclesiastical history, Gallonio

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C. Elam eds., *Florence and Italy: Renaissance studies in honour of Nicolai Rubinstein* (London: Committee for Medieval Studies, Westfield College, 1988) 297–308. For the *vita* of Jerome, written by Erasmus: André Godin, 'Erasme biographe patristique: Hieronymi Stridonensis vita', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 50 (1988) 691–706.

[7] Sofia Boesch Gajano, 'Dai leggendari medioevali agli *Acta Sanctorum*', *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* 21 (1985) 219–244 (223–235); cfr. Frazier, *Possible Lives*, 318.

[8] 'Le vite, e detti de padri, e fratelli della Congregatione dell'Oratorio da S. Filippo Neri fondata nella Chiesa di S. Maria in Vallicella. Raccolti da Paolo Aringhi Prete della detta Congregatione e da altri' in: BibVal Ms. O.58 f. 369ro. For the meetings of the Oratorium: Maria Teresa Bonadonna Russo, 'Origine e sviluppo dell'Oratorio di San Filippo Neri', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 55 (2001) 3–17 (11–15); Antonio Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri, l'Oratorio e la Congregazione oratoriana. Storia e spiritualità* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 1989) I, 78–83, 231.

must also have assembled and started to put into writing hagiographical material in preparation for his hagiographical lectures.[9]

In his pastoral activities, Gallonio was particularly involved in providing spiritual education to young ladies of noble birth. Accordingly, in his first hagiographical publication the *confessore delle zitelle* aimed at a readership of young women. Initially this book was intended to be a voluminous compilation of the lives of female virgins, for the greater part European female martyrs from Late Antiquity. In 1591 Gallonio wrote to Antonio Talpa that he wanted to supplement this collection with an overview in which he had reconstructed the tortures to which these martyrs had been subjected. In this way the *Historia delle sante vergini romane*, the *Historia delle sante vergini forestiere* and the *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio* should have been published at the same time.[10] Ultimately, Gallonio published the section on the Roman virgins and the treatise on the instruments of torture as separate publications.[11] However, it is impor-

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[9] For the lectures for the purposes of which Baronio began to collect historical material: Stefano Zen, *Baronio storico: Controriforma e crisi del metodo umanistico* (Naples: Vivarium, 1994) 17–19.

[10] Giuseppe Finocchiaro, *Cesare Baronio e la Tipografia dell'Oratorio: impresa e ideologia* (Florence: Olschki, 2005) 87–89; in the letter to Antonio Talpa, Rome 1591, Gallonio says: 'Mi sono sforzato metter insieme tutte le vergini romane, particularmente raccolte da manoscritti antichi nostri e di altri; nel fine di ciascheduna historia ho assegnato il tempo della lor morte, gli autori gravi che ne scrivono o ne fanno mentione; di poi, levate via alcune difficoltà pertinenti alla verità dell'historia, inoltre nominati i parenti o altri di quella famiglia santi, e riferiti succintamente gli atti loro, finalmente poste nella seconda parte molte historie di vergini forastiere col medesimo ordine, et un trattato nel principio diviso in quindici capitoli de gli instrumenti e modi di martirizzare usati da gli antichi contra i christiani con le loro figure in rame, che saranno quaranta di numero per lo meno, et al presente ne ho in ordine ventitré, le quali danno, per la gratia del Signore, grandissima divotione e soddisfattione ad ognuno che le vede.' Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, I, 730–731 n. 17.

[11] Antonio Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio* (Rome: A. and G. Donangeli, 1591) +2ro–+2vo; idem, *Historia delle sante vergini romane* (Rome: A. and G. Donangeli, 1591 [i.e. 1593]) *3ro–*3vo. Simon Ditchfield has argued convincingly that the actual time of publication of the *Historia delle sante vergini romane*, in the version that is now known, must have been after 9 September 1593. Simon Ditchfield, 'An early Christian school of sanctity in tridentine Rome' in: idem ed., *Christianity and community in the West: essays for John Bossy* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001) 183–205 (187–188 n. 11, 193 n. 35). The fact is that Gallonio lists the death of Elena de'Massimi, which did not occur until 1593. Copies of another edition are to be found in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana and in the Biblioteca Alessandrina. The engravings in this edition are different, more primitive, and the number of engravings is limited, as a result of which a number of *historie* have the same engraving. The contents of this edition are the same as those of the well-known edition. Possibly the *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio* appeared later than indicated by the title page, as well. In a letter of 18 June 1592, Baronio wrote to Antonio Talpa: 'Mi sono messo a questi giorni, sapendo che il detto p. ms. Antonio scrive un libro delli instrumenti dei martyrii,

tant to note that Gallonio had initially regarded these works as parts of a single project. In this collection of saints' lives, written in the vernacular, he wanted to present to his readership examples of sanctity arranged in the order of the liturgical calendar, to be contemplated on a daily basis. This included a great deal of attention to the reconstruction of the visible signs of the saintliness of the virgins, in particular to the instruments with which they had been tortured and the localization of their physical remains, their relics.

In Venice several years previously, Giovanni Battista Natolini had published a *Legendario delle santissime vergini.* This book describes the lives of thirty-one virgin martyrs. Its structure is similar to the *Historia delle sante vergini romane*, and Gallonio clearly used it for the preparation of his own book on pious virgins. He possessed a copy of this book, studied it well, and even filled it with his own handwritten notes. On the inside of the back cover he wrote a list of female saints. With the exception of a few names, the list corresponds with the list of pious virgins whose names appear in the *Historia delle sante vergini romane*.[12] The *Legendario* clearly served as a frame of reference for Gallonio's own work on female saints. Yet, whereas Natolino's *Legendario* reproduced medieval saints' lives without much editorial intervention, Gallonio added annotations to his *vitae* that served to support their authority, as we will see below (§ 2.2).

Several years later, Gallonio's orientation towards young female believers became evident once more in his brief biography of Elena Massimo. This exemplary confessant became ill at thirteen years of age, and died after a protracted illness. Gallonio commemorated her piety and the fortitude with which she had borne her suffering in a *vita*, which he probably intended to be for the eyes of the Massimo family exclusively. In the nineteenth century Domenico Rebaudengo, librarian of the Congregation, found and published the manuscript.[13]

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oltra quelli che sono nell'Annotatione del Martyrologio Romano, darne altri loci reconditi.' Baronio introduces the book as a novelty. Zen, *Baronio storico*, 119 n. 8.

[12] Giovanni Battista Natolini, *Legendario delle santissime vergini le quali volsero morire per il nostro Signore Giesu Christo* (Venice: V. Bonelli, 1586); for Gallonio's notes see the copy in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana, with the signature S.Borr.F.II.142 (see above, § 1.3).

[13] Antonio Gallonio, *Istoria di Helena de' Massimi vergine romana*, ed. Domenico Rebaudengo (Rome: Salviucci, 1857); the original version is idem, 'Historia della divotissima et spiritualissima Vergine di Giesu Christo Helena Nobilissima Romana di Casa Massimi scritta Da Antonio Gallonio Romano della Congregatione dell'Oratorio', BibVal Ms. I.11. For the restricted readership of the work, see idem, *Istoria di Helena*, 3–4.

Gallonio changed course when he produced a Latin version of the treatise on the instruments of martyrdom, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, in 1594, three years after the appearance of the Italian original. This book was detached definitively from the collection of saints' lives, of which the *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio* had originally formed a part. It became a separate overview of the physical working of the tortures to which martyrs were subjected. In its set-up it displays similarities to the Roman archaeology that was flourishing at the time. The introduction of juridical elements and references to the very recent past make the book topical and polemical. In Gallonio's oeuvre the two versions of the book about martyrdoms are the works that fit least clearly within an existing genre.

In the same years a second project came into being, which fit in better with conventional hagiographical genres but which was also much more ambitious. In 1592 Gallonio wrote to Talpa that he wished to create a collection of saints' lives as a supplement to the anthology that had for two decades already set the tone internationally: *De probatis sanctorum historiis* by the Cologne Carthusian Laurentius Surius (1522–1578). Gallonio wanted to elaborate the lives of the saints that Surius had either missed out completely or had described inadequately. Gallonio based this work on ancient manuscripts and wrote it in Latin.[14] The concrete result can be found in the last three volumes of the series of manuscripts in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana, with the title 'Vitae sanctorum qui post Christi ascensum vixerunt', the lives of saints who had lived in the first centuries after Christ.[15] These manuscripts contain the lives of 200 to 250 individual saints or groups of saints, together with the details of their burials and the subsequent peregrinations of their relics. The relevant sources for each saint or group of saints were assembled together. Gallonio dealt comprehensively with the chronology and the geography of the saints' lives and the identities of all characters that featured in them. This was to have been

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[14] Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, II, 787 n. 69. This relates to Laurentius Surius, *De probatis sanctorum historiis* (Cologne: G. Calenius, 1570–1581). On Surius: Serena Spanò Martinelli, 'Cultura umanistica, polemica antiprotestante, erudizione sacra nel "De probatis Sanctorum historiis" di Lorenzo Surio' in: Sofia Boesch Gajano ed., *Raccolte di vite di santi dal XIII al XVIII secolo: strutture, messaggi, fruizioni* (Fasano: Schena, 1990) 131–141; Hildegard Hebenstreit-Wilfert, *Wunder und Legende. Studien zu Leben und Werk von Laurentius Surius (1522–1578), insbesondere zu seiner Sammlung "De probatis Sanctorum historiis"* (Tübingen: Köhler, 1975); Paul Holt, 'Die Sammlung von Heiligenleben des Laurentius Surius', *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 44 (1922) 341–364.

[15] The volumes with the 'Vitae Sanctorum Qui post Christi ascensum vixerunt' are: BibVal Mss. H.21, H.22, H.23.

a very meticulous elaboration of the available historical documentation of the saints of Late Antiquity. If this work had ever been completed, in scope and depth it would have been similar to the first large-scale hagiographical undertakings of the Belgian Jesuits, in particular the *Fasti sanctorum* by Heribert van Rosweyde (1569–1629). This anthology of the lives of Belgian saints, which Rosweyde published two years after Gallonio's death, can be seen as a foretaste of the first parts of the *Acta Sanctorum* that Jean Bolland (1596–1665) and Daniel van Papenbroek (1628–1714) began publishing several decades later.[16] Gallonio's 'Vitae sanctorum qui post Christi ascensum vixerunt' would not have been out of place among these projects.

In October 1595 Claudio Paci (1538ca.–1608), a nobleman from Rimini, wrote Paolucci and asked whether Gallonio was making progress with his work on the lives of the saints, by which he meant the 'Vitae sanctorum qui post Christi ascensum vixerunt'.[17] It was never completed. After all, in May of that year Neri had died, which profoundly influenced Gallonio's activities. Almost immediately Gallonio initiated the private veneration of his spiritual leader, hosting followers of the deceased priest daily in his own room. An altar was placed in Neri's room a year later. Gallonio was responsible for the celebrations in honor of Neri that were held there. In 1597 Gallonio began to write Neri's *Vita.* Initially he wrote in Latin, but soon he began to work on a version in Italian simultaneously. In 1600, a jubilee year during which pilgrims flocked to Rome from all over Europe, the Latin version was ready for publication. The Italian version appeared a year later.[18]

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[16] Heribert Rosweyde, *Fasti sanctorum quorum vitae in belgicis bibliothecis manuscriptae. Item acta praesidalia sanctorum martyrum Tharaci, Probi, et Andronici* (Antwerp: Plantijn, 1607). Concerning the Bollandists: Aigrain, *L'Hagiographie*, 329–350; David Knowles, *Great Historical Enterprises* (London: Nelson, 1963) 1–32; Paul Peeters, *L'Oeuvre des Bollandistes* (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1961[2] [1942]).

[17] 'Che fece il m.to R.do P. Gallonio circa l'opera sua delle Vite de Santi, l'ha egli tirata avanti?', BibVal Ms. H.8[I] f. 230[ro].

[18] Antonio Gallonio, *Vita beati patris Philippi Nerii Florentini Congregationis Oratorii fundatoris in annos digesta* (Rome: L. Zannetti, 1600); idem, *Vita del beato padre Filippo Neri fiorentino fondatore della Congregatione dell'Oratorio* (Rome: L. Zannetti, 1601). In the first half of 1600 the Latin *Vita* was ready for printing, and Gallonio obtained papal permission to distribute the book. The Italian version was published in early 1601. Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, II, 1362, 1403; ACO Vol. A.III.51 nr. 3. A new edition of the Latin *Vita* was published in Mainz during Gallonio's life, in 1602, and after his death Zazzara had a second edition of the Italian version printed in Naples: Antonio Gallonio, *Vita beati patris Philippi Nerii Florentini Congregationis Oratorii fundatoris* (Mainz: B. Lippius, 1602) and idem, *Vita*

The texts of the two versions of the *Vita* relied very much on witnesses' depositions concerning the life of Neri, which had been recorded by a notary on behalf of the Curia beginning August 1595.[19] Gallonio ensured that the texts complied with age-old conventions relating to the structure and content of the 'monographic' *vita*, a sizeable biography recounting the life of one particular saint. The need to fit the testimonies of his contemporaries into the template of hagiographical tradition obliged Gallonio to apply all the creativity he could muster to their statements, as will be shown in particular with regard to healing miracles in chapter 4.

In 1596, Clement VIII (1536–1605, pope 1592) made his confessor Cesare Baronio a cardinal. Baronio chose the dilapidated basilica dedicated to Nereus and Achilleus as his titular church. In 1597, the newly-appointed cardinal had the relics of the first-century Saints Nereus and Achilleus, together with those of their mistress, Flavia Domitilla, conveyed to his titular church in a magnificent procession.[20] In honor of this event Gallonio compiled two pamphlets, in which he describes the lives and deaths of Flavia Domitilla, Nereus and Achilleus, together with those of a further eleven saints with whom they were traditionally associated. Only an Italian version of this pamphlet was published, while a Latin version remained in manuscript. Both versions were commissioned by Baronio.[21] Compared to the very comprehensive *Vita* of Neri, Gallonio wrote a very succinct overview of the history of all these martyrs, emphasizing their deaths, their funerals and their recent reinterment by Cardinal Baronio.

Gallonio wrote all the works mentioned up to now under his own name. In addition, he carried out work anonymously for the Congrega-

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del Beato Padre Filippo Neri fiorentino fondatore della Congregatione dell'Oratorio (Naples: G.D. Roncagliolo, 1608).

[19] Antonio Cistellini, 'A proposito della *Vita di S. Filippo Neri* di Antonio Gallonio', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 54 (2000) 1–11 (1–2); idem, *San Filippo Neri*, II, 983–986, 1057–1059, 1203; Francesco Zazzara, 'Diario delle onoranze a S. Filippo Neri dalla morte alla canonizzazione', ed. Giovanni Incisa della Rocchetta, *Quaderni dell'Oratorio* 6 (1966) 1–28 (3–4).

[20] Zen, *Baronio storico*, 228; Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, II, 1050–1054; Richard Krautheimer, 'A Christian triumph of 1597' in: Douglas Fraser, Howard Hibbard and Milton J. Lewine eds., *Essays in the history of art presented to Rudolf Wittkower.* (London: Phaidon, 1967) 174–178.

[21] Antonio Gallonio, *Historia della vita e martirio de'gloriosi santi Flavia Domitilla vergine, Nereo, et Acchilleo, e piu altri, con alcune vite brevi de'santi parenti di S.Flavia Domitilla, et alcune annotationi* (Rome: L. Zannetti, 1597) 3; idem, 'Historia sanctorum martyrum Flaviae Domitillae virginis Nerei Achillei et aliorum multorum' in: BibVal Ms. G.99 ff. v^{ro}–vi^{ro}, 1ro–17ro (in part. f. vi^{ro}).

tion of Rites and Ceremonies, the department in the Curia responsible for the cult of the saints and the liturgy, established in 1588 by Sixtus V.[22] As a consequence he was also involved in the production of the more formalized texts used in the liturgy, such as the *lectiones*, which were part of the *officium*. Traces of this are to be found in his manuscripts, in a commentary on a newly written *officium* for the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore. This commentary was issued in the names of Cardinals Silvio Antoniano (1540–1603), Cesare Baronio and Roberto Bellarmino (1542–1621), but is written in Gallonio's handwriting.[23]

In the entire Roman Catholic world, monasteries, chapters and urban communities were faced with questions relating to the historical basis for the cults of the saints venerated in their churches. The universal *Martyrologium Romanum*, in the realization of which Baronio had played an important role, was intended as a solution to this issue. The questionable historical status of saints, the relics of whom were worshipped in churches here and there, was also one of the reasons for the establishment of the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies. This official body worked on a juridical framework to assess whether the veneration of a specific saint was permissible. The historical reality of the saint in question and a proven, uninterrupted veneration after his demise were central criteria.[24] Gallonio was fully acquainted with the administrative procedures that were in existence and under development concerning the veneration of saints. He himself contributed to them with a short treatise on the veneration of deceased persons with the reputation of being saintly, who had not yet been canonized: 'De his quae praestari possunt nondum canonizatis'.[25]

In short, part of Gallonio's varied hagiographical output was connected with the development of an administrative structure within the Roman Catholic Church responsible for the regulation of the liturgy and the cult of the saints. The network of correspondence which he set up, which included the letter from Francesco Quaini to Fabrizio Paolucci, was part of a large-scale undertaking to historically substantiate the local cults in Catholic Europe. Such historical research was among the administrative

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[22] Giacomo Ricci, 'Breve notitia di alcuni suoi compagni' in: Pietro Giacomo Bacci, *Vita di S. Filippo Neri Fiorentino fondatore della Congregatione dell'Oratorio* (Rome: F. Tizzoni, 1672) 172.

[23] BibVal Ms. H.18 ff. 139ro–140ro.

[24] Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History*, 17–67, 96–101.

[25] BibVal Ms. G.91; there are still several known copies of this handwritten tract. See chapter 3 for this small work.

duties of the Curia. Gallonio's work in the service of ecclesiastical authorities overlapped with his hagiographical production for the Oratorium. For Gallonio, the *vitae*, *miracula*, *hymni* and *officia* were historical sources of equal value for all manner of new hagiographical texts.

Chronology and Typology

All Gallonio's writings have saints as their subject, but most of his texts differ as regards composition and function. He showed a great versatility in how he elaborated historical subject matter. Nevertheless, a few general characteristics of his perception of the past and of history were common to all of his hagiographical works.

The modern view of history is that it follows a linear development. It unfolds in regular stages along a time axis. This linear course of history, with a chronological scale, is a Judeo-Christian concept that has replaced the ancient cyclical perspective of time. The sixteenth-century perception of history, however, allowed for a certain non-linear aspect as well. This non-linear aspect became apparent as from time to time events and human characteristics seemed to reoccur in the same manner.[26] In sixteenth-century historical theory, the past was generally perceived as a model for the present. Writers such as Juan Luis Vives (1492–1540) and Marc Antoine Muret (1526–1585) took the Ciceronian adage *historia magister vitae* as the basis for the idea, broadly speaking, that under the same circumstances events repeat themselves. From this point of view, histo-

[26] For the linear aspect in *historia sacra*: Ernst Hoffmann, 'Platonism in Augustine's philosophy of history' in: Raymond Klibansky and H.J. Paton eds., *Philosophy and history. The Ernst Cassirer Festschrift* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963) 173–190 (176–177); Karl Löwith, *Meaning in history* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949) 9–18. For the repetitive aspect: Genoveffa Palumbo, 'Erudizione, storia e verità nel frontespizio degli *Acta Sanctorum*' in: Gennaro Luongo ed., *Scrivere di santi. Atti del II Convegno di studio dell'Associazione italiana per lo studio della santità, dei culti e dell'agiografia. Napoli, 22–25 ottobre 1997* (Rome: Viella, 1998) 263–283 (273–275); G.W. Trompf, *The Idea of Historical Recurrence in Western Thought—from Antiquity to the Reformation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979) 1–3, 295–312; Arnaldo Momigliano, 'Time in ancient historiography', *History and Theory* 6 (1966) 1–23 (21–22), which can be read as a reaction to Karl Löwith; George Kubler, *The Shape of Time. Remarks on the History of Things* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962) 98–106, 123–126, in which the writer suggests that a periodic notion of history underlies Christian concepts such as biblical prefigurations, periodically returning eschatological beliefs and the denial of historical linearity among Cistercians. Hippolyte Delehaye also suggested that saints, as against profane historical figures, are part of a periodic notion of time: Hippolyte Delehaye, *Cinq leçons sur la méthode hagiographique* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1934) 7–8, 13.

riographers had the moral duty to highlight praiseworthy actions so that their readers could learn a lesson from them and emulate them.[27]

Human society, the *civitas terrena*, or the *Ecclesia militans*, was held to be an imperfect reflection of heavenly society, the *civitas Dei*, or the *Ecclesia triumphans*. The history of society since the Fall of Man had been a linearly progressing series of events. The successive generations of rulers, the changes of dynasties, and the wars, hardships and epidemics that were the causes of these changes were the fate of corrupt mankind, which was guilty of vain ambition and lack of charity. In this continuous spectacle of human fallibility, God from time to time gave signs as reminders of his providence, omnipotence and benevolence. Such signs could be natural phenomena, such as solar eclipses, heavenly lights, animal behaviors or the peculiar form of plants. They could, however, also be human individuals who distinguished themselves through their characters, behavior and lives. Such persons excelled in heavenly virtues, and were surrounded by the mystery of God.[28] These persons, the saints, were part of the history of human society, but at the same time stood apart from it. After all, they took no part in worldly sin and depravity. The saints, together with the other signs, were part of the divine revelation in this world. They served as beacons for mankind, so that people could abandon their sinful ways and embrace righteousness.

Ideally, the history of the church was a history of these signs. This was how God revealed himself. Despite the continually changing shape of human society throughout the course of history, the similarities between divine signs made them recognizable. At the same time, each new sign of divinity, as soon as it had been recognized as such, could count on ever-repeating ecclesiastical commemoration, a commemoration that itself was perceived as a sign from God. Each year the liturgical *officium*, in honor of a saint, refreshed the virtues and miracles of a saint in the memories of those who celebrated it.[29] Frequently recurring formulas and *topoi* in the hagiographical texts added to the impression that *historia sacra* consisted

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[27] Eric Macphail, 'The Plot of History from Antiquity to the Renaissance', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 62 (2001) 1–16 (9–12). Giorgio Spini, 'Historiography: the art of history in the Italian Counter-Reformation' in: Eric Cochrane ed., *The Late Italian Renaissance 1525–1630* (London: Harper & Row, 1970) 91–133.

[28] Boyer, 'The typology of medieval hagiography', 35.

[29] John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991) 45–53; Mario Righetti, *Manuale di storia liturgica* (Milan: Ancora, 1946–1953) I, 258–263; II, 2–4, 268–275.

of an accumulation of continually repeating elements.[30] The ecclesiastical historian, or writer of hagiographical texts, saw it as his appointed task to highlight the repetitive signs of divine revelation in the lives and works of the holy persons and institutions of the past.[31] This periodic nature of *historia sacra* demonstrated the unchangeability of the church.

The changeless, typological aspect of *historia sacra* is present in all of Gallonio's works, although not always visible on the surface. It is most evident in the treatises on martyrdom. In these treatises, the author extracted and juxtaposed passages from the life stories of holy martyrs without taking into consideration their chronological relationship. He freed the episodes of martyrdom from the chronological structure in which they had been embedded, and incorporated them as non-historical data in the treatises. Gallonio makes it appear as though martyrdoms occur from time to time in exactly the same way, as periodically returning phenomena. The linear chronology of the past in which the martyrdoms occurred is of no importance in the treatises.

Also, in his other, more conventional hagiographic writings, Gallonio gives expression to the sixteenth-century perception of history as a process in which typical occurrences and character traits continually recur. The *Historia delle sante vergini romane*, the collection of life stories of holy Roman virgins, includes women from the first to the fifteenth centuries. However, the historical context of the individual saints has no influence on the descriptions of their lives; indeed, Gallonio avoided most references to historically determined circumstances. The virgins' life stories follow a fixed plan, their saintly virtues and achievements conforming to timeless patterns. This repetition is in sharp contrast to the pains that Gallonio took to establish the exact time of death of the virgins at the end of each *historia*.[32] This contrast accentuates the changelessness of *historia sacra*: Gallonio established carefully at which moments in history the never-changing signs of holiness manifested themselves.

Much as in the *Historia delle sante vergini romane*, in the *Vita* of Neri many specific events might just as well have taken place at another time,

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[30] Boyer, 'The typology of medieval hagiography', 29.

[31] Gerard J.P. O'Daly, *Augustine's* City of God*. A Reader's Guide* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999) 160–162; 194–195; Hoffmann, 'Platonism in Augustine's philosophy of history', 175–176. According to Stefano Zen, for Cesare Baronio ecclesiastical history was a 'tangible manifestation of the Providence on Earth', and therefore stood apart from worldly history. Zen, *Baronio storico*, 83. For the way in which Tommaso Bozio thought that *historia sacra* related to *historia profana*: Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography*, 454.

[32] Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History*, 45–48.

despite Gallonio's care to date them rigorously. The sequence of events makes very little difference to the logical course of the narrative as a whole, with the exception of biographical key moments such as Neri's birth and death. Instead of continually weaving the episodes of the life of the Florentine into the narrative as the logical outcome of what came before, Gallonio often deliberately took them out of the thread of the story in order to use them as examples of the timeless signs of saintliness. To this end, in the margins of the text he included references to comparable qualities and events in other saints' lives. When Gallonio describes how, for example, in his younger years Neri was tormented by other priests, he invites the reader to compare this with the *vita* of Daniel Stylites, which Surius had included in his anthology, and with the *vita* of Saint Vincent Ferrer, written by Pietro Rauzano. Daniel Stylites was a pillar saint in the fifth century in what today is Syria; Vincent Ferrer was a Dominican who lived at the time of the papal schism in the Late Middle Ages. Typically, Gallonio referred to two different saints from two different periods and regions, in order to demonstrate that an element of Neri's life was a recurring characteristic of saints that had already been recognized.

The elements in the lives of saints that recurred periodically throughout the centuries were highly relevant for the Church of Rome in the sixteenth century. An overview of what had never changed or had taken place in the same manner on every occasion during the course of the centuries provided the church with material to support its claim to eternal immutability. Changelessness was a central theme in ecclesiastical historiography in general. According to Cesare Baronio, the *Annales ecclesiastici* had the objective of demonstrating that the church had always been the same, unchanged: 'semper eadem'. This claim clearly had a polemical undertone. Protestants viewed the Roman Catholic Church as a perversion of the original, Apostolic Christian community. They claimed that the Roman Catholic Church of the sixteenth century was no longer the rightful heir of the Apostolic Church, so that the Protestants could rightfully look upon themselves as the true successors to the Apostles. Although the project of the *Annales ecclesiastici* was not merely a reaction to Protestant claims, the anti-Protestant apologetics did heavily influence its execution.[33]

The saints were the vanguards of the *Ecclesia militans*, and other believers were supposed to take them as examples upon which to model

[33] Ibid., 6; Zen, *Baronio storico*, 156 n. 95; Pontien Polman, *L'Élement historique dans la controverse religieuse du XVI^e Siècle* (Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1932) 527–529.

their own lives. The perpetual recurrence of the same virtues, the same miracles and the same suffering demonstrated that the cult of the saints was wholly in accordance with the original message of Christ. Since the time of the Apostles, every period of history had known saints, recognized as such by the Church, that always had the same characteristics by which they were recognizable. This made the legitimacy of the cult of the saints plausible, and was supposed to take the wind out of the sails of the Protestants, who were critical of the veneration of saints.

The anti-Protestant polemic comes especially to the fore in Gallonio's work in the treatises of martyrdom. Gallonio tried to strengthen the topicality of the veneration of martyrs by suggesting a parallel between Late Antiquity and his own era. At several places in the Latin edition Gallonio supplemented the examples of the tortures described with instances from his own time. In doing so, he made use of contemporary martyrological literature, predominantly by English writers: Richard Verstegan (1548–1640), Nicholas Sanders (1530ca.–1581), Robert Parsons (1546–1610), John Bridgewater and Joseph Cresswell (1557–1623ca.). These writers had represented the Catholic victims of religious violence in northwest Europe as new martyrs of the Church of Rome.[34] Gallonio embroidered on this by comparing them continually with the martyrs who had died in Late Antiquity. He placed the Catholics that had been killed recently in the age-old succession of martyrs. Historical events depicted in word and image served both as a form of instruction and as a retort to the Protestants. The Protestant heretics were given the same role as the pagans who, under various Roman emperors, violently persecuted the Christians.

The illustrations in Gallonio's treatises of martyrdom fit within a genre of martyrological imagery that was introduced in Rome a decade earlier. In the 1570s and 1580s, Jesuit churches in Rome, such as the Santo Stefano Rotondo, the San Tommaso di Canterbury and the Sant'Apollinare, were given fresco cycles in which series of martyrdoms were depicted as they were in the treatises of martyrdom. Several martyrdoms were shown in a

[34] Antonio Gallonio, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus liber* (Rome: Tipografia della Congregazione dell'Oratorio, 1594) ++^{vo}. The publications to which he refers: Nicholas Sanders, *De visibili monarchia ecclesiae libri 8* (Louvain: J. Fowler and R. Velpius, 1571); idem, *De origine ac progressu schismatis Anglicani libri tres* (Rome: B. Bonfadini, 1586); Robert Parsons, *De persecutione Anglicana libellus* (Rome: L. Zannetti, 1582); Richard Verstegan, *Theatrum Crudelitatum Haereticorum nostri temporis* (Antwerp: A. Huberti, 1587); John Bridgewater, *Concertatio ecclesiae catholicae in Anglia adversus Calvinopapistas et Puritanos* (Augsburg: H. Bock, 1589); Joseph Cresswell, *Exemplar literarum, missarum, e Germania, ad Guilielmum Cecilium, consiliarium regium* (s.l.: s.n., 1592).

single frame, as in an encyclopaedic illustration. Such images emphasized that the faithful endurance of violent persecution that ranked as sacred from the beginning, recurred again and again, right through to their own era. Great emphasis was given to the mechanisms of martyrdom that made it into such a painful experience.[35] The same historical interest that manifested itself in the martyrological visual culture of these years also led to the exploration of the catacombs, where the material and iconographic remains of Christianity of the first centuries were to be found. The paintings, graves and relics that were discovered in the catacombs led not only to extensive studies of the underground topography and early Christian grave culture, but also to new iconological motifs in the imagery of martyrological painting and engraving.[36]

The fresco cycles were in churches that served the Jesuit novices who were being prepared for missions in the apostate areas of Europe and in the pagan territories of Asia and America. These trainee missionaries ran the risk of meeting a violent end, just like the martyrs whose resolve they witnessed daily in the images which surrounded them.[37] In this way, the martyrological visual culture of these years was an evocation of the glorious past, and a sign of this past being relived again. The martyrological literature and images underpinned the Catholic traditions, and defended them against the Protestants.

The work of Gallonio fit in within a view of *historia sacra* that manifested itself as an ahistorical superstructure in the linear chronology of worldly history. His saints were like specimens of a species, whereby a specimen could be compared with other specimens of the same category on the basis of certain defining characteristics (see chapter 6). These timeless species of saints could be found in Antiquity, and they reappeared in every period, right through to Gallonio's own era. In the sixteenth century

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[35] Gauvin A. Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque: Jesuit Art in Rome, 1565–1610* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003) 107–186.

[36] A recent formulation of this connection in Massimiliano Ghilardi, *Subterranea civitas: quattro studi sulle catacombe romane dal medioevo all'età moderna* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 2003) 7–9, 43–75. See also § 2.2.

[37] Opher Mansour, 'Not Torments, but Delights: Antonio Gallonio's *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio* of 1591 and Its Illustrations' in: Andrew Hopkins and Maria Wyke eds., *Roman Bodies. Antiquity to the Eighteenth century* (London: The British School at Rome, 2005) 167–183 (171–172, 179–180); Federica Piccirillo, 'VI.3 Fenomenologia del martirio' in: Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna eds., *Roma, 1300–1875: l'arte degli anni santi*, exhibition catalogue (Milan: Mondadori, 1984) 282–291 (282, 286–287); Antonio Vannugli, 'Gli affreschi di Antonio Tempesta a S. Stefano Rotondo e l'emblematica nella cultura del Martirio presso la Compagnia di Gesù', *Storia dell'Arte* 48 (1983) 101–116 (113–116).

the typological recurrence in the histories of saints acquired a powerful pedagogic and polemical function with the flare-up of religious violence in Europe.

2.2 *Gallonio's Sources*

In writing about ecclesiastical history and about saints of the past, Gallonio and his fellow Oratorians took upon themselves a major responsibility. As representatives of the Roman Catholic priesthood they had to speak and write authoritatively. The power of historiography was dependent on the credibility of historical reconstruction. An external touchstone was necessary for historical representations. This touchstone was the documentation. The historical sources provided the evidence with which the authors substantiated their representations of the past.

Hagiographical Sources

Much as in the early modern period, historiography in the Middle Ages had been a means of creating a foundation for a view of the social order and the world at large. Medieval historiography, however, contained little reflection on the sources on which historical assertions were based. Historiography consisted of a succession of borrowings from ancient writers and medieval chronicles and annals, derivations that often merged unnoticed into one another, alternating with personal observations. In the early modern period the source became separated from the main text. Authors of historical texts, including those of *historia sacra*, researched and selected their sources critically, prior to drawing on them for their expatiation. In doing so, they isolated and displayed their sources in order to provide insight into the foundations of their claims. Sources started to serve as external elements to underpin the writers' assertions.[38]

Beginning in the fifteenth century, attempts were made in ecclesiastical historiography and hagiography to incorporate the source criticism of secular writers and text editors. Various projects were embarked upon initially, but were, however, inadequate from the point of view of the

[38] Donald R. Kelley, *Faces of History: Historical Inquiry from Herodotus to Herder* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998) 99–156, 162–174, 188–205; Anthony Grafton, *The Footnote: A Curious History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997) 148–189. Cfr. specifically for Baronio's *Annales ecclesiastici*: Irena Backus, *Historical method and confessional identity in the era of the Reformation (1378–1615)* (Leiden: Brill, 2003) 375–377.

requirements set by humanists for reliable documentation and literary stylistics.[39] Nevertheless, in the course of the sixteenth century various works came into being that, *de facto*, gained the status of official historiography and hagiography, and which, in the decades following, were to be continually referred to and quoted.

In the decade after the end of the Council of Trent, German and Spanish Jesuits made a number of attempts to achieve a satisfactory ecclesiastical history, but without much success.[40] Meanwhile, Onofrio Panvinio attempted to compile a complete ecclesiastical history on the basis of a recognizable selection of sources. Panvinio strived constantly to reproduce, unabridged, the testimonies that were relevant to the historical themes that he described, and that were not contentious. The result was a heavily documented history of the first eight centuries of the existence of the church. This work of 1,200 folios remained largely unpublished, as Panvinio died in 1568 at the age of thirty-eight before finding the time to publish it.[41]

In the two decades that followed, Cesare Baronio prepared his *Annales ecclesiastici*, the first volume of which appeared in print in 1588.[42] Baronio not only reconstructed the detailed chronological history of the church as an institution, he also dealt extensively with a wide variety of aspects of Catholic religious life. He furnished every issue and every judgment with a foundation of quotations from authoritative sources that supported his views. The quotations are often repetitive, reiterating the same point. In some instances a quotation even incorporates a quotation from another source, which Baronio previously had already quoted independently. Such an accumulation of quotations, which had an authoritative precedent in the *Historia ecclesiastica* by Eusebius of Caesarea (260ca.–338), was not only intended to be informative; it also constituted transparent evidence that the validity of certain beliefs and traditions was historically constant.[43] Baronio exposed the brickwork of his own historical reconstruction.

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[39] Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History*, 117–120.

[40] José L. de Orella y Unzue, *Respuestas católicas a las Centurias de Magdeburgo (1559–1588)* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1976) 175–255.

[41] Stefan Bauer, *The Censorship and Fortuna of Platina's Lives of the Popes in the Sixteenth Century* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006); De Orella y Unzue, *Respuestas católicas*, 276–300, and in particular 298–299 for Panvinio's use of sources.

[42] For the history of the publication of the *Annales ecclesiastici*: Zen, *Baronio storico*, 159–170; P.J.A.N. Rietbergen, 'Printing Baronius's *Annales Ecclesiastici* (Rome 1588–1607)', *Quaerendo* 13 (1983) 87–102 (92–102).

[43] Grafton, 'Church History', 17–18; Backus, *Historical method*, 375–377; Zen, *Baronio storico*, 71–72, 123–127; Polman, *L'Élement historique*, 529–530.

Parallel to historiography, attempts were also made in written saints' lives to lay bare to the readership the evidence of the sources. Luigi Lippomano (1500–1559) and Laurentius Surius are the best-known sixteenth-century writers of hagiography to have attempted to always select and reproduce the most reliable source texts.[44] Lippomano worked in the 1550s. The only criterion that he employed for his *De vitis Sanctorum* was the supposed age of the available source texts. In this he relied exclusively on the period in which the presumed author had lived. Lippomano gave no consideration to the subsequent development of the source text, such as any interpolations, elaborations, changes or errors the original text might have undergone before he worked with it.[45] A decade later, Surius, in contrast, employed a philological method of reconstructing source texts for the purposes of *De probatis sanctorum historiis*. He did take into account the manner in which texts could change in the course of the centuries. In addition, the reputation of the author of the source texts was at least as important to him as their supposed age. In general, Surius was more critical of his sources than Lippomano.[46]

Lippomano and Surius are the authors to whom Gallonio appealed most often in his own work. They can be regarded as his direct predecessors, the most important hagiographers upon whom Gallonio's generation built.[47] Although Gallonio claimed he could improve on Surius, as becomes apparent from his letter to Talpa of 1592, mentioned above (§ 2.1), Surius' *De probatis historiis* remained one of the most important sources to draw upon.

Gallonio also used earlier hagiographical collections. In his work he refers regularly to the published collections of Pietro Natali (1330ca.–1406) and Bonino Mombrizio (1424–1482/1500ca.), who were active in the four-

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[44] Serena Spanò Martinelli, 'Le raccolte di vite di santi fra XVI e XVII secolo', *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* 27 (1991) 445–464 (449, 454); Boesch Gajano, 'Dai leggendari medioevali agli *Acta Sanctorum*', 223–235.

[45] Luigi Lippomano, *Sanctorum priscorum patrum vitae numero centum sexagintatres, per gravissimos et probatissimos auctores conscripta* (Venice: s.n., 1551–1556). Sofia Boesch Gajano, 'La raccolta di vite di santi di Luigi Lippomano. Storia, struttura, finalità di una costruzione agiografica' in: idem ed., *Raccolte di vite di santi dal XIII al XVIII secolo: strutture, messaggi, fruizioni* (Fasano: Schena, 1990) 111–131 (119–127).

[46] Surius, *De probatis sanctorum historiis*; Spanò Martinelli, 'Cultura umanistica, polemica antiprotestante, erudizione sacra'; Hebenstreit-Wilfert, *Wunder und Legende*; Holt, 'Die Sammlung von Heiligenleben'.

[47] Boesch Gajano, 'Dai leggendari medioevali agli *Acta Sanctorum*', 228–235.

teenth and fifteenth centuries respectively.[48] In addition, Gallonio made much use of medieval *martyrologia*. From their creation in the eighth and ninth centuries, these *martyrologia* were held in high regard throughout Latin-Christian Europe as sources for liturgical and pastoral knowledge. In his hagiographical work Gallonio often mentions the *martyrologia* of the Venerable Bede, Ado of Vienne and Usuard. The *martyrologium* by Usuard (ninth century) was the most widely used in the Middle Ages. It was republished in the sixteenth century by the Louvain Jesuit Johannes Molanus (1533–1585), with the addition of historical and philological comments. This publication became in turn an important source for later hagiographical projects, such as the revised *Martyrologium Romanum* of the 1570s and 1580s in which Baronio played such a major role.[49] Gallonio made grateful use of the new edition by Usuard and the accompanying comments.[50]

In the *Historia delle sante vergini romane*, Gallonio often names the sources he drew upon at the end of each *vita*. For example, he ends the description of the life and death of Flavia Domitilla, a virgin who suffered martyrdom around the year 100, with the following source reference: her story and those of her companions appeared in the *martyrologia* of the Venerable Bede, Ado and Usuard, and in the anthologies of Mombrizio, Natali and Surius. The description of the life of Domitilla could also be read in several manuscripts in the possession of the Oratory and of the Santa Maria Maggiore. Finally, he refers the reader to the recent *Martyrologium Romanum*.[51]

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[48] Pietro Natali, *Catalogus sanctorum et gestorum eorum ex diversis voluminibus collectus* (Venice: B. De Zanis de Portesio, 1506); Bonino Mombrizio, *Sanctuarium seu vitae sanctorum* (s.l.: s.n., s.d.).

[49] Guazzelli, 'Cesare Baronio e il *Martyrologium Romanum*'; Aigrain, *L'Hagiographie*, 51–68. The first edition of the martyrology of Usuard, produced by Molanus: Usuard, *Martyrologium, quo Romana ecclesia, ac permultae aliae utuntur*, ed. Johannes Molanus (Louvain: H. Wellaeus, 1568). For the various editions and reprints that Molanus produced: Paul Grosjean, 'Sur les éditons de l'Usuard de Jean Molanus', *Analecta Bollandiana* 70 (1952) 327–333.

[50] In several places, Gallonio refers explicitly to the comments of Molanus in his edition of Usuard: Gallonio, *Historia delle sante vergini romane*, 15, 30, 225.

[51] 'Riferiscono l'historia di queste Vergini, e de'Santi che vi si leggono, Adona [*sic*], Beda, Usuardo ne'giorni delle loro solennità, Mombritio nel 2. con gli atti di Nereo & Archilleo; Pietro nel 4. al 138. Di Nereo, & Archilleo al 155. de'S.S. Marone, e compagni, al 54. del medesimo, di Sulpitio, e di Serviliano, nell'istesso al 68. il Surio con gli atti di Nereo, & Archilleo nel 3. insieme con gli atti de'medesimi Santi l'habbiamo nel 7. tom. delle nostre manuscritte, un'altra pure manuscritta ne ho veduto con l'istesso titolo tra quelle di S. Maria Maggiore; oltredi questi la riferisce il Martirologio Romano in diversi luoghi.' Gallonio, *Historia delle sante vergini romane*, 59.

In the *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio*, which was published at about the same time and had originally been intended as part of the same project, Gallonio named the same Flavia Domitilla together with her companions Theodora and Euphrosyna in a long list of martyrs who had been burned alive. In the margin he referred the reader to his own book about the holy Roman virgins. He reproduced exactly the same reference to his own work in the subsequent Latin version, even though it had ceased to be part of the combined pastoral project.[52] From this the interrelationship becomes apparent between the book about the virgins and the two versions of the martyrological treatise. They are all based on the same core fund of hagiographical sources.

Subsequently, in the publication of 1597 in honor of the translation of the relics of Flavia Domitilla, Nereus and Achilleus, under the direction of Baronio, Gallonio dealt with his information more exhaustively. He weighed up his sources critically against one another. For example, there was confusion about the baptism of Flavia Domitilla. Pietro Natali had written that Pope Clement I had baptized the virgin at the end of the first century. However, according to Gallonio this was incorrect. Both from handwritten *vitae* and from the anthologies of Mombrizio and Surius it became clear that it had been the Apostle Peter who as pope had baptized Domitilla. In this way Gallonio indicated the source texts that placed the conversion of the virgin as early as possible, and thus as close as possible to Christ himself. He emphasized this choice by quoting the text of Surius extensively, and by mentioning Natali only in passing.[53] Baronio proceeded in the same way. The sources quoted were not meant to enable an independent verification of the author's argument. Instead, Gallonio

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[52] 'Delle SS. Theodora, Eufrosina, e Flavia, noi fra le Romane.' Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio*, 93; 'Theodorae, Euphrosinae, & Domitillae nos in historia nostra SS. virginum Romanarum', Gallonio, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, 167.

[53] 'Essere S. Flavia Domitilla stata da S. Pietro Apostolo battezzata (come s'è detto nell'historia) e non da S. Clemente, mentre era sommo Pontefice, come ha voluto Pietro, si prova per tutte l'historie, che di lei si trovano, tanto ne'libri antichi in penna, come parimente ne gli stampati, così presso Mombritio nel lib. 1. come presso il Surio nel 3. dove conformemente si leggono in tutte queste precise parole: *Huius, nempe Clementis Consulis, soror Plautilla nos infantulos comparavit: tunc quando ab ipso B. Petro Apostolo verbum vitae audiens credidit, & baptizata est; nos simul cum filia sua Domitilla sancto baptismate voluit initiari: & eodem anno & B. Petrus Apostolus cum corona martyrii properavit ad Christum, & Plautilla corpus terrenum deseruit*. Sin quì sono parole dell'historia. [. . .] che Flavia Domitilla fosse battezzata da S. Pietro Apostolo, e non da S. Clemente, come inavvertentemente diceva Pietro, pigliando forse errore, per esser ella stata velata da lui, come tutte l'historie, e noi asseverantissimamente affermiamo.' Gallonio, *Historia della vita e martirio de'gloriosi santi*, 28.

filled in the framework of his argument with the source fragments that supported his point of view. The other texts he rejected.

For the *Vita* of Neri, Gallonio drew on sources other than those used for his publications on historical saints. He based the biographical information about Neri on the testimonies in the canonization process. He refers to these testimonies, in notes in the margin of the text, as verifications of the biographical elements out of which the *vita* is built up. In addition, on many occasions he mentions passages from hagiographical texts in separate notes. Many hagiographical texts to which he refers are pieces that Surius had included in his *De probatis historiis*, such as the *vita* of Bishop Dunstan written by the Anglo-Saxon monk Osbert, or the letter from the fourteenth-century Cardinal Jacques de Vitry about Marie d'Oigny. They provide material for comparison rather than facts of the life story of Neri. Accordingly, Gallonio refrained from including quotations from these sources. The references created a context for Gallonio's assertions about Neri. By this means the author suggests an analogy between episodes from Neri's life and undisputed moments of divine revelation in the lives of other saints.

Deserving separate mention is a series of hagiographical texts that Gallonio does not refer to anywhere else. These relate to Greek saints, mostly ascetics. They form a specific category among the timeless signs of holiness. Gallonio fashioned Neri as a representative of this particular group of saints. Notable is the large number of references to the *vita* of the anchorite Anthony, written by Athanasius of Alexandria, and to the *vitae* of several hermits from Palestine written by the monk Cyril of Scythopolis. Gallonio also repeatedly refers to texts about Greek monks, hermits and pillar-saints by the tenth-century Greek writer Simeon Metaphrastes, included in Surius' compilation.[54] With his preference for hermits and other desert saints of the early medieval eastern Mediterranean world, Gallonio classified Neri in a specific historical family or category of saints. The characteristics that linked Neri to his ascetic predecessors were the forsaking of worldly goods and pleasures, a strong aversion to sin, in particular carnal sin, the strength to resist temptation, and a never-ceasing battle against the devil by means of prayer, fasting and vigils.

[54] References to Athanasius: Gallonio, *Vita del beato padre*, 3, 5, 11, 46, 48, 52, 53, 68, 210; to Cyril of Scythopolis: ibid., 28, 46, 53, 72, 117, 139, 196, 209; to Simeon Metaphrastes: ibid., 5, 11, 25, 44, 46, 72, 76, 88, 122, 139, 139, 161, 196.

While Gallonio collected hagiographical texts of every possible kind from all corners of Catholic Europe, he was meticulous in selecting from them the source texts for his own writings. The criteria for such selection were dependent on his objectives. In the *Vita* of Neri he refers in particular to monographic *vitae* of eastern ascetics and pedagogic literature derived from them. In his works on historical saints, the *Historia delle sante vergini romane*, the treatises of martyrdom and the pamphlets about Flavia Domitilla and her companions, Gallonio especially made use of hagiographical anthologies, both printed and in manuscript form. Where necessary, he supplemented these with religious and worldly texts of all possible manners of genres, and in some instances with visual and material sources.

Other Religious and Worldly Source Texts

The sources that Gallonio used in the *vitae* of Neri are mainly hagiographical texts, in which the continual repetitions of signs of holiness become self-evident. References to other sorts of texts also occur, but only sporadically. When Gallonio explains that Neri was not the first to give his followers a beating in order to free them of sinful needs (as the author himself had experienced), he refers to a passage about the twelfth-century Bishop Evermodus of Ratzeburg in the history of the Vandals by Albert Krantz. From Bede's ecclesiastical history of the English it appeared that Neri was supposedly not the first to exhale on the face of patients while performing a medical miracle.[55] Such quotations from non-hagiographical sources in the *Vita* of Neri are, however, rare. The worldly context of Neri's life was evident from witness reports. The function of the *vita*, to promote the general recognition of the protagonist as a saint, required Gallonio to place the emphasis on parallels between Neri and other saints, especially the eastern ascetics.

With early Christian virgins and martyrs, the problem was the opposite. Everyone knew that Agnes, Barbara and Cecilia were saints. In their cases Gallonio had to establish the historical facts: exactly when and where they had led their earthly lives, in what context they had performed their

[55] The reference to Krantz: ibid., 88; to the Venerable Bede: ibid., 160. This relates to Albert Krantz, *Wandalia in qua de Wandalorum populis, et eorum patrio solo, ac in Italiam, Galliam, Hispanias, Aphricam et Dalmatiam migratione: et de eorum regibus ac bellis domi, forisque gestis* (Cologne: J. Heil, 1519), of which new editions appeared later in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and Bede, *Ecclesiastica historia gentis Anglorum*, new editions of which are still being published.

actions and how they had died. The sources he used for the *Historia delle sante vergini romane*, for the treatises of martyrdom and for the *vita* of Flavia Domitilla and her companions served to verify the historical manifestations of saintliness in the world. The historical reconstruction was more important than the metaphorical analogy. The greater attention to the worldly context of these saints' lives also demanded a broader selection of sources. To this end, Gallonio used a variety of source types, which in some instances went far beyond the bounds of hagiography.

To begin with, Gallonio drew on a wide selection of ecclesiastical historical and apologetic literature for his works on virgins and martyrs. He had the ecclesiastical history within reach. In the previous two decades, for the purposes of compiling the *Annales ecclesiastici*, Baronio had assembled not only printed and handwritten historiography, but also extensive materials from unpublished archives. Although Baronio and Gallonio did not always work harmoniously together, the latter had access to many standard works that had arrived in the library of the Oratory during the preparatory work for Baronio's *magnum opus*. At various points in his hagiographical works Gallonio referred to the Greek historiographers of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, namely Eusebius of Caesarea, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Nicephorus and Zonara.[56] Writers whose names in this period recurred in all ecclesiastical literature, including the works of Gallonio, were early church fathers from North Africa, including in particular Origen, Tertullian and Cyprian. The militant defence of ecclesiastical orthodoxy and the self-evident nature of martyrdom expressed in their writings was favorably received by Catholic writers in the sixteenth century.[57] Gallonio made much use of Cyprian in particular in the treatises of martyrdom.[58]

Gallonio did not confine himself to ecclesiastical writers of the first millennium. In his works about historical saints he drew from a very great diversity of sources, some of these being secular both as regards author and subject. Pagan sources complemented ecclesiastical historiography as a matter of course. For example, in the remarks with which Gallonio

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[56] These ecclesiastical authors recur repeatedly. For the efforts made by Baronio in the collection of religio-historical sources, including the Greek ecclesiastical historians of the fourth to the twelfth centuries, see Zen, *Baronio storico*, 96–116.

[57] For martyrdom as the subject of the writings of Tertullian and Cyprian: Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 34–43; E.L. Hummel, *The Concept of Martyrdom According to Cyprian* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1946) 34–164.

[58] Gallonio, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus, inter alia* 47–48, 51, 59, 62, 129.

concludes the *vita* of the Roman virgin Tatiana, he refers to the biography of Emperor Severus Alexander, reputedly written by Lampridius. This was not to procure details about Tatiana's life, but to discuss the nature of Alexander's regime. According to Lampridius, this emperor had not been unfavorably disposed towards the Christians. In order to make plausible that Saint Tatiana had nevertheless died a martyr during his reign, Gallonio explains that the emperor had delegated some of his powers to enemies of the Christians. According to Gallonio, if a *vita* claimed that Christians were brought before Emperor Alexander, this meant in fact that they were brought before his brutal subordinates.[59] In this case Lampridius did not provide Gallonio with information about Tatiana, but on the contrary: the *historia profana*, of which the Roman historian was an authoritative source, had to be made to correspond with her martyrdom. For similar reasons Gallonio continually quotes Roman historians, from Livy and Sallust, via Tacitus and Suetonius, to the authors of the *Historia Augusta* and Ammianus Marcellinus. We can add to these Zosimus and Georgius Cedrenus, from the Byzantine period.

In addition, Gallonio regularly had recourse to rhetorical, literary, philosophical and juridical sources. For the treatises of martyrdom in particular, Gallonio made much use of the rhetorical and ethical works of Cicero, the letters of Seneca and the natural history of Pliny. On many occasions Gallonio quotes from the comedies of Plautus. One of the most regularly occurring source texts is Valerius Maximus, *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri novem*. From the Late Middle Ages this collection of *exempla*, memorable deeds and sayings, was popular as a source for the compilation of commonplace books, collections of standard sentences and expressions for rhetorical purposes.[60]

In several places Gallonio used texts that were common in the spheres of interest of law, medicine and engineering for his historical reconstructions. In his handling of some instances of torture he drew on sources from legal history, which in his time were looked upon as topical legal literature. In this way, for example, his account of *culleus*, an ancient Roman punishment for parricide, is based on the legal codification of Emperor Theodosius, but also on philological treatises on this subject by Jacques Cujas (1522–1590), Carlo Sigonio (1524–1584) and Barnabé Brisson

[59] Gallonio, *Historia delle sante vergini romane*, 12.

[60] Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996) 38, 40, 109–110.

(1531–1591). These legal historians' studies were considered to be authoritative commentaries on Roman law and were prescribed literature for jurists in the sixteenth century.[61] When Gallonio had to determine precisely what had happened when Cecilia had been exposed to heat in a private bathhouse for a succession of days, he refers to Galen, Vitruvius and Celsus, authors of ancient medical and architectural literature which in the sixteenth century had lost none of their currency. Gallonio adds a reference to Andrea Bacci (1524–1600), a productive balneologist of his own time.[62] In passages on pulleys and presses Gallonio turns again to Vitruvius.[63] The way in which Gallonio related to legal culture, medical culture, engineering culture and in general to the accumulation, categorization and organization of knowledge in the sixteenth century will be discussed in the following chapters. For now it is important to bear in mind that, while verifying the *vitae* of saints who had lived in a distant past, Gallonio did not restrict himself to a closely defined fund of hagiographical sources but drew on a whole gamut of genres.

Material Sources

As regards Gallonio's use of sources, one class has as yet not been mentioned: the broad category of material sources. Falling into this category is everything that was not written on parchment or on paper: epigraphs, visual sources, numismatic sources, reliefs, sculpture, architecture and utensils. To be able to use these as historical sources demands a specific insight into their material, their form and their location in relation to other objects. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries scholars limited themselves by and large, to a reading of such sources as if they were written texts, with a language of their own that scholars had to learn to decipher. Reliefs on sarcophagi demanded knowledge of Roman iconography in order to understand what they portrayed. The reading of ancient coins required a combination of epigraphy and portrait-iconography.

Especially in the Mediterranean world, attention was directed almost exclusively towards unique objects, the actual value of which, as historical sources, lay in specific texts or images. In Italy, the interest in material

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[61] Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio*, 139–140; idem, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, 219–222.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio*, 23; idem, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, 40–43.

antiquities that increased enormously in the fifteenth century was directed particularly towards elements that seemed to illustrate political history or aesthetic criteria. From Flavio Biondo (1392–1463), who in the middle of the fifteenth century described the antiquities of Rome in *Roma instaurata* and *Roma triumphans* to Pirro Ligorio (1510ca.–1583), who did the same in the middle of the sixteenth century in a few dozen manuscripts known as 'Antichità romane', writers were mainly interested in palaces and temples that could be localized specifically, identifiable sculptures, paintings and frescoes, and inscriptions and coins that provided unequivocal information on elements of chronological history.[64]

Mentioned earlier was the fascination in Catholic Europe in the final decades of the sixteenth century for the monuments of early Christianity. The catacombs, with their mortal remains of the victims of the persecution of Christians, and the early Christian and early medieval churches, with their crypts where the martyrs and other saints had found their final resting places, excited much interest among the priests and worshippers in the Counter-Reformation. This was a symptom of the perceived repetition of the elements of *historia sacra*. Christian antiquities were viewed as signs of the Christian virtues and miracles that recurred century after century, and of the pains to which Christian society continually went in order to honor those Christian examples, a never-ending cycle of holiness and veneration.

However, the material remains of the early Church were not only objects of veneration, they were also sources of information about aspects

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[64] Carmelo Occhipinti, *Pirro Ligorio e la storia cristiana di Roma* (*da Costantino all'Umanesimo*) (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2007) *xi;* Bruce G. Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006^2 [1989]) 54–58; Gisella Cantino Wataghin, 'Archeologia e "archeologie". Il rapporto con l'antico fra mito, arte e ricerca' in: Salvatore Settis ed., *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana* I *L'uso dei classici* (Turin: Einaudi, 1984) 171–221 (192–195, 198, 201–205); Arnaldo Momigliano, 'Ancient history and the antiquarian', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13 (1950) 285–315 (289–292). Important studies into the use of material sources in historiography and in archaeology in early modern Italy: William Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History: Historical Scholarship in the Late Renaissance* (London: Institute of Classical Studies, School of Advanced Study, 2005); J. Cunally, *Images of the Illustrious: The Numismatic Presence in the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999); Ingo Herklotz, *Cassiano Dal Pozzo und die Archäologie des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Hirmer, 1999); Philip Jacks, *The Antiquarian and the Myth of Antiquity: the Origins of Rome in Renaissance Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). More generally about the history of the use of visual and material sources for the reconstruction of the past: Francis Haskell, *History and its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993); Alain Schnapp, *La conquête du passé. Aux origines de l'archéologie* (Paris: Carré, 1993).

of *historia sacra* on which textual tradition was unclear. In the wake of the study of pagan antiquities, study into Christian antiquities also began to take shape in the course of the sixteenth century. Churches were examined in detail, catacombs were explored and charted. Onofrio Panvinio, mentioned above, is looked upon as a pioneer in this development, and around 1600 the new vogue culminated in the work of Antonio Bosio. Gallonio is known as a participant in this trend. His treatises of martyrdom are seen as contributions to the blossoming of Christian archaeology.[65] Sacred relics, architecture and art were not only honored and celebrated, but also studied.

The study of sacred archaeology, just like its secular counterpart, took a particular interest in readable and unique remnants of the past. Inscriptions were essential for the identification of the graves in crypts and catacombs. Old paintings, frescoes and mosaics were looked upon as iconographic sources to ascertain the appearances of specific saints and church dignitaries.[66] The locations of catacombs and the relics that were to be found there were unique data that contributed to the chronology and topography of *historia sacra*.

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[65] Massimiliano Ghilardi, 'Le catacombe di Roma dal Medioevo alla *Roma sotterranea* di Antonio Bosio', *Studi Romani* 40 (2001) 27–56 (for Gallonio: 34); Cantino Wataghin, 'Archeologia e "archeologie"', 206–209; Vannugli, 'Gli affreschi di Antonio Tempesta', 101–116 (for Gallonio: 115); Giuseppe Bovini, *Gli studi di archeologia cristiana dalle origini alla metà del secolo XIX* (Bologna: Pàtron, 1968) 17–61 (for Gallonio: 33–34); Giuseppe Ferretto, *Note storico-bibliografiche di archeologia cristiana* (Vatican City: Tipografia poliglotta vaticana, 1942) 128–130; Carlo Cecchelli, *Il cenacolo filippino e l'archeologia cristiana* (Rome: Istituto di studi romani, 1938) 16, 18; Orazio Marucchi, *Le catacombe romane*, ed. Enrico Josi (Rome: La libreria dello Stato, 1932) 3–29; Pietro Fremiotti, *La riforma cattolica del secolo XVI e l'archeologia cristiana* (Rome: Pustet, 1926) 77–83; Giovanni Battista De Rossi, *La Roma sotterranea cristiana, descritta ed illustrata* (Frankfurt a.M.: Minerva-Verlag, 1966 [repr. Rome: Cromo-litografia pontificia, 1864–1877]) 1–46. Bosio's work was unequalled until the nineteenth century when, under the leadership of Giovanni Battista de Rossi, Christian archaeology developed into an autonomous academic discipline. Developments in Christian archaeology in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have received little attention: Massimiliano Ghilardi, *Subterranea civitas*, 13.

[66] Occhipinti, *Pirro Ligorio*, 343–384 (but in fact the entire book describes Christian archaeology in the early modern period as an expression of interest in unique remains from the past, in which the author focuses particularly on the relationship between iconographic and aesthetic interest); Barbara Agosti, *Collezionismo e archeologia cristiana nel Seicento. Federico Borromeo e il medioevo artistico tra Roma e Milano* (Milan: Jaca Book, 1996) 12; Haskell, *History and its Images*, 13–127; Ingo Herklotz, '*Historia sacra* und mittelalterliche Kunst während der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts in Rom' in: Romeo De Maio e.a. eds., *Baronio e l'arte: atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Sora 10–13 ottobre 1984* (Sora: Centro di studi sorani, 1985) 21–74.

Gallonio went along with his contemporaries and used material antiquities in his works on historical saints to supplement and support his textual sources. However, he did not know Bosio personally and was not involved in the realization of the *Roma sotterranea*.[67] This puts into perspective his involvement in the trend among clergy around 1600 to view Christian antiquities in the catacombs with their own eyes. Gallonio did not accompany Bosio on the latter's underground explorations.

Especially in the *Historia delle sante vergini romane*, Gallonio used texts from inscriptions to establish where the virgins lay buried. For example, he mentions two inscriptions from which it was apparent that the relics of Saints Daria and Chrysanthus were partly to be found in the church of San Silvestro in Capite. One of these inscriptions, which the nuns of the adjacent convent had placed near the high altar shortly before, Gallonio cites:

> In the name of the Lord. Registered here are the names of the holy martyrs whose bodies rest in this church: the bodies of Saints Daria and Hilaria, of Saints Memmia and Juliana, of Saint Artemia, of Saint Concordia, of Saint Sophia and of Saints Fides, Spes and Charitas, of Saint Conchilia and of Saints Tryphonia and Cyrilla.[68]

The quotation, which Gallonio translated out of the original Latin, is actually an inaccurate paraphrase. Gallonio altered the text of the inscription

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[67] On 19 October 1602 Gallonio wrote in a letter to Cardinal Federico Borromeo: 'Del autore del libro de'Cimiteri non so che scriverle; ho parlato ad uno suo grande intrinseco amico, il quale ha veduta l'opera, et mi ha detto che egli è di già in ordine, et che ha fatto molte spese, e di piu che ne ha parlato col Papa, che gli è piaciuto che esso faccia questa opera, si che penso che non ne fara altro, parendogli che cosi gli habbia ordinato N. S.re. Se potro cavarne altro lo faro intendere a V.S. Ill.ma, ancorche io non conosca l'autore.' BA Ms. G.189inf f. 93ro. The author of this 'book about graveyards' that in 1602 was almost ready for publication and of which Pope Clement VIII personally expressed his approval, must have been Bosio. Bosio temporarily interrupted his exploration of the catacombs between 1602 and 1608, but in 1610, despite everything, part of his work on the underground burial places was ready for publication: N. Parise, 'Bosio, Antonio', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* XIII (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1971) 257–259. It is apparent from the letter quoted that Gallonio did not know him personally.

[68] 'Una parte de'corpi de i Santi Daria, e Grisanto nella Chiesa de'Santi Apostoli si conservano, e l'altra in San Silvestro, come dimostra quella tavola di marmo posta nell'entrar di detta Chiesa à man sinistra, dove sono descritte una parte delle reliquie di essa, e quel l'altra, la quale questo Ottobre passato, piacque alle Reverende Madri collocarla in Chiesa, vicino all'altare grande, dove si leggono queste parole: Nel nome del Signore. Quì sono notati i corpi delle Sante Martiri che in questa Chiesa si riposano: I corpi delle Sante Daria, & Hilaria: Delle Sante Memia, e Giuliana: Di Santa Artemia: Di Santa Concordia: Di Santa Sofia, e delle Sante Fede, Speranza, e Charità: Di Santa Conchilia e delle Sante Trifonia, e Cirilla.' Gallonio, *Historia delle sante vergini romane*, 192.

in such a way that the liturgical-architectural function of the object was entirely lost from view: the stone was bricked into the wall of a church in such a way that it was possible to read on which days which saints were venerated in this church. The original, which dates back to the eighth century, and which is now built into the *atrium* at the entrance of the church, contains the following text (Fig. 2a):

> In the name of the Lord. This is the registration of the dates of the decease of the holy martyrs who rest here. The eighteenth of March is the day of the decease of Saints Daria and Hilaria. The eighth of August is the day of the decease of Saints Memmia and Juliana. The ninth of the same month is the day of the decease of Saint Artemia. The twelfth of the same month is the day of the decease of Saint Concordia. The thirtieth of September is the day of the decease of Saints Sophia, Pistis, Helpis and Agape. The thirteenth of October is the day of the decease of Saint Conchilia. The eighteenth of the same month is the day of the decease of Saint Tryphonia. The twenty-eighth of the same month is the day of the decease of Saint Cyrilla.[69]

Gallonio thus quoted inscriptions in versions that were abbreviated and adapted to tie in with his own objectives without reproducing the inscription graphically, clearly marking the quotation typographically or indicating where he filled in lacunae. This shows that he took little interest in the material aspects of the epigraphy, such as the form of the letters or the monumental context that distinguished it from manuscripts and printed matter.[70] For him the inscription was simply a text as all others.

Gallonio drew upon the same epigraphic sources as Baronio and his colleagues in their notes in the *Martyrologium Romanum*. For example, under January 3 in the *Martyrologium Romanum*, there is a note about the

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[69] 'IN N[OMINE] D[OMI]NI HAEC NOT[ATIO] NAT[ALICIORUM] S[AN]C[TARUM] [MARTYRUM] / HIC REQUIESCENT[IUM] / MENSE MART[IO] D[IE] XVIIII N[ATALICIUM] S[AN]C[T]A[RUM] DA[R]IAE / ET HILARIAE / MENSE AUG[USTO] D[IE] VIII N[ATALICIUM] S[AN]C[T]AR[UM] MEMMIAE ET IULIANAE / D[IE] VIIII M[ENSE] S[UPRA]S[CRIPTO] N[ATALICIUM] S[AN]C[T]AE ARTHEMIAE / D[IE] XII M[ENSE] S[UPRA]S[CRIPTO] N[ATALICIUM] S[AN]C[T]AE CONCORDIAE / MENSE SEPT[EMBRE] D[IE] XXX N[ATALICIUM] S[AN]C[T]AR[UM] SOFIAE PISTIS HELPIS ET AGAPE / MENSE OCT[OBRE] D[IE] XIII N[ATALICIUM] S[AN]C[T]AE CONCHILIAE / D[IE] XVIII M[ENSE] S[UPRA]S[CRIPTO] N[ATALICIUM] S[AN]C[T]AE TRIFONIAE / D[IE] XXVIII M[ENSE] S[UPRA]S[CRIPTO] N[ATALICIUM] S[AN]C[T]AE CYRILLAE'. Currently, the inscription hangs on the right-hand side of the main entrance. The pendant is built in to the left-hand side of the main entrance; it shows the dates of the decease of the male saints whose relics are located in the church. For the dating: Eileen Kane, *The Church of San Silvestro in Capite in Rome* (Genoa: B.N. Marconi, 2005) 106, who bases herself on Nicolette Gray, 'The paleography of Latin inscriptions in the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries in Italy', *Papers of the British School at Rome* (1948) 38–163.

[70] Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions*, 43–73.

HIC REQVIESCENT
MENSE MART D XVIII N SCA
ET HILARIAE
MENSE AVG D VIII N SCAR
ETIVLIANAE
D VIII M SS N SCAE
D XII M SS N SCAE
MENSE SEPT D XXX N SCA
PISTIS HELPIS ET AGAPE
MENSE OCT D XII N SCA
D XVIII M SS N SCAE TRI
D XVII M SS N SCAE

Fig. 2a. Inscription in the *atrium* of San Silvestro in Capite, Rome: list of the relics of female saints (photo author).

interment of Pope Antherus (†236, pope 235) in the catacomb of Calixtus. The note ends with the text of an inscription from which it should be apparent that the pope's body was later conveyed from the catacomb to

IN̄N DN̄I HEC EST NOTITIA NATALICIORVM
SCORVM HIC REQVIESCENTIVM
MENSE IANVARIO DIE III NAT SCI ANTERI PAPAE
DIE X MENS SS N SCI MILTIADES PAPAE
MENSE FEBR DIE XI N SCOR CALOCERI
ET PARTHENII
MENSE MARTIO D II N SCI LVCII PAPAE
DIE VIIII M SS N SCOR QVOR NOM DS SCIT
DIE XVIII M SS N SCI PYMENII PBET MART
DIE XVIIII M SS N SCOR CHRYSANTHI
ET THRASONIS
DIE XXIIII M SS N SCI QVIRINI MART
MENSE APRIL D XXII N SCI GAII PAPAE
DIE XXV M SS NA SCI MILITI MART
MENSE MAIO D XII N SCOR TROFIMI
ET CALOCERI
MENSE IVLIO DIE XXVI N SCOR ZEFE
RINI PAPAE ET TARSICII MARTYRIS
MENSE AVGVSTO DIE VIII NA SCORV
QVIRIACI LARGI ET SMARAGDIANCI
DIE XIII M SS NA SCI YPPOLITI
MENSE SEPTIMBRIO DIE X N SCI GOR
GONII ET ALIOR QVOR NOM DS SCIT
DIE XX M SS N SCI IANVARII D XX N
SCOR PAMFILI ET PAVLI MITIS
MENSE OCT DIE VIIII N SCOR MVIT R MART
DIE XIII M SS N SCOR PROIECT ET SEDEAI
MENSE NOV D XXVII N SOPT TEI POLYCHAM
XI M SS N SCOR VICINTI QVINQVE
MENSE DEC D XXVII N SCI DYONISII PAP
XXVIIII M SS N SCI NEMESII DIACONI

Fig. 2b. Inscription in the *atrium* of San Silvestro in Capite, Rome: list of the relics of male saints (photo author).

the church of San Silvestro in Capite. This inscription sums up the dates of the decease of the male saints whose relics are situated in the San Silvestro (Fig. 2a):

> This is the registration of the dates of the decease of the saints who rest here: the third of January is the date of the decease of Holy Pope Antherus, etc.[71]

This is the pendant of the stone from which Gallonio paraphrased the text. He knew about this stone listing the relics of male saints as well: he had a transcription of it in his collection of hagiographical manuscripts.[72]

Although Gallonio was himself not particularly meticulous with epigraphic sources, he nonetheless felt authorized to criticize the reading of such epigraphic lists of relics by another author: Pompeo Ugonio (†1614), teacher of rhetoric at the Sapienza University and writer of a well-known book on the churches of Rome.[73] At the end of the *historia* of Saint Beatrix, Gallonio remarks that parts of her body and those of her brothers were to be found in various churches in Rome. Inscriptions in several of these churches claimed to possess the saints' entire bodies, making it appear as if the saints had been buried in more than one place. The discrepancy was due to the peregrinations that these relics had made, and to the custom of speaking of 'the body' when only a part thereof was meant. Gallonio takes issue with the naivety with which Pompeo Ugonio had taken such statements literally. Where inscriptions mentioned 'the body of', Ugonio took that to mean 'the complete body of', as a result of which the bodies of several saints turn up in a number of churches at the same time in his book.[74]

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[71] 'Ex Coemeterium Callisti de quo agimus, effossum corpus sancti Anteri Papae translatum est intra Urbem in ecclesiam sancti Silvestri in Campo Martio, ubi in lapidea tabula eiusmodi vetus inscriptio legitur: Haec est notitia Natalitiorum Sanctorum hîc requiescentium: Mense Ianuario, die tertia NATALIS SANCTI ANTERI, &c.' *Martyrologium Romanum* (Antwerp: Plantijn, 1589) 140–141. For the annotations (*Notationes*) accompanying the *Martyrologium Romanum*, which from 1586 appeared in publications of the work, see Guazzelli, 'Cesare Baronio e il *Martyrologium Romanum*', 60–72.

[72] BibVal Ms. H.8[I] ff. 265[ro]–265[vo], 269[ro]–269[vo].

[73] Frederick J. McGinness, *Right Thinking and Sacred Oratory in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995) 12–14; Herklotz, '*Historia sacra* und mittelalterliche Kunst', 39–50, 73–74. The first mention of Ugonio as teacher of rhetoric in the payrolls of the Sapienza was in 1587, the last in 1612: Emanuele Conte ed., *I maestri della Sapienza di Roma dal 1514 al 1787: i rotuli e altre fonti* (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1991) 127, 174. The book about the churches of Rome: Pompeo Ugonio, *Historia delle stationi di Roma* (Rome: B. Bonfadini, 1588).

[74] 'I corpi di santa Beatrice, e de'fratelli sono in diversi luoghi di questa Città divisi, parte in Santa Maria Maggiore, parte in San Nicolò in carcere, e parte in altre chiese; e se bene in alcune di esse si trova scritto, che vi sieno i corpi intieri, ciò si è cagionato ò perche vi furono la prima volta transferiti, overo perche la maggior parte di loro vi si conserva: e questo ordinariamente verifica, ne'corpi de'Santi, che nelle chiese stanno, come, mentre le sacre sepolture loro s'aprono chiaramente si vede, poiche quasi del

Here Gallonio reproaches the teacher of the Sapienza for not considering the epigraphic texts in their material context; as texts carved in stone that would have been difficult to alter when they were no longer up to date. The critical attitude to material sources that Gallonio implicitly advocates in this instance was inspired by a specific interest. The question of the multiple mentions of saints' relics at different locations had been a controversial issue since the harsh Protestant criticism of the cult of the saints.[75] Gallonio refers to it in a number of places in the *Historia delle sante vergini romane*.[76] However, in all manner of other situations in which the specific criticism of epigraphic sources was relevant, but not as delicate, Gallonio ignores it.

Another type of legible material source that can be found here and there in Gallonio's works is the visual source. When he introduces the sources that provide information about the working and the appearance of the *plumbatae*, he refers to the frescoes in the basilica of San Lorenzo fuori le Mura. The *plumbatae* was an instrument of flagellation, consisting of cords with lead balls attached. Gallonio refers to one of the frescoes that portrays the life of Lawrence, painted in the thirteenth century in the *portico* of the basilica (Figs. 2c, 2d). Gallonio realized that the reading of such a source had its specific problems. He states that, although the frescoes 'are not a thousand years old, it is nonetheless believed that they

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continuo ò la maggior parte de'corpi solamente, ò le più principali vi si trovano. Ciò considerando uno scrittore moderno, che per occasione d'una certa sua historia ha trattato delle reliquie di molte chiese di Roma, pigliando la parte per lo tutto, ha posto un medesimo corpo in diversi luoghi, come verbi gratia quello di Santa Prasede nella chiesa dedicata à lei, & in SS. Quattro Coronati, quello di questa Santa Vergine in Santa Maria Maggiore, & in Santo Nicolò in Carcere, e quello di Santa Cecilia nel tempo [*sic*] dedicato al suo nome, & in SS. Quattro Coronati, e così anco ha fatto di alcuni altri.' Gallonio, *Historia delle sante vergini romane*, 125–126. Gallonio refers to the book by Ugonio about the churches of Rome, which had been published shortly before, and which indeed contained the examples of duplicates that Gallonio mentioned: Ugonio, *Historia delle stationi*, 71vo (Beatrix), 134ro (Cecilia), 220ro–220vo (Cecilia and Praxedis), 278ro (Beatrix), 300vo (Praxedis).

[75] Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided, 1490–1700* (London: Allen Lane, 2003) 102; Genoveffa Palumbo, '"L'Assedio delle reliquie" alla città di Roma. Le reliquie oltre la devozione nello sguardo dei pellegrini', *Roma Moderna e Contemporanea* 5 (1997) 377–399 (382, 392). The certification of the relics was also decreed at the last session of the Council of Trent, December 1563: Klaus Ganzer, Giuseppe Alberigo and Alberto Melloni eds., *The Oecumenical Councils of the Roman Catholic Church: from Trent to Vatican II (1545–1965)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010) 149–151.

[76] Not only at the end of the *historia* of Saint Beatrix mentioned earlier, but also when he discusses the relics of Romula and Redempta, and those of Daria and Chrysanthus: Gallonio, *Historia delle sante vergini romane*, 122, 192.

Fig. 2c. Fresco, S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, in the *portico* (photo author).

Fig. 2d. Detail from fig. 2c with *plumbatae*.

derive from the design of ancient models.'[77] In this half-hearted way he accounted for the specific source criticism that was required for a correct reading of visual sources, without actually engaging in such source criticism himself.

A separate category of material sources that Gallonio sometimes drew on is the non-unique, non-readable object. In a few places he refers to groups of objects that provided insight into the construction or the functioning of instruments of torture. These were not specific relics employed for the identification of individual saints but generic antiquities that served to supplement the textual sources for the meaning of martyrological concepts. They were everyday objects, metal and earthenware containers, not the types of antiquities that made up the sixteenth-century artistic-documentary patrimony generally to be found in collections and scholarly treatises. When Gallonio introduces the *olla*, in which martyrs were said to have been boiled, he describes it as a cauldron made of copper or bronze, 'as can be seen in a few ancient examples made of copper and of bronze that were found in the ruins of the city, and that look like our rimless pans.'[78] These types of material sources, simple utensils and implements, dozens of examples of which turned up indistinguishable from one another, are not to be found in the *Martyrologium Romanum*. Only unique antiquities, such as inscriptions, paintings and murals, are mentioned in the *Martyrologium.*[79]

Attention to such utensils in this period is known as a northern European peculiarity. While in the urban culture of Italy there was an abundance of epigraphy, sculpture and architecture available for the supplementation

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[77] 'Erano le piombate, per quanto accennano gli atti de'Martiri, e Prudentio nell'hinno di san Romano, e più chiaramente alcuni scrittori moderni, & alcune pitture antiche, in particolare una che sino al giorno di hoggi nella chiesa di san Lorenzo fuori delle mura si vede, la quale se bene non è di mille anni dipinta, tuttavia si tiene che dalla forma delle antiche venga,' Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio*, 47; 'Erant plumbatae (ut sanctorum martyrum res gestae indicant, & Prudentius, atque quaedam picturae, quae hic Romae invisuntur) quoddam flagelli genus', Gallonio, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, 109. For the frescoes in the *portico* of the basilica of San Lorenzo fuori le Mura: Guglielmo Matthiae, *S. Lorenzo fuori le mura* (Rome: Marietti, 1966) 63–64.

[78] 'Era dunque l'olla, come habbiamo detto, una pentola di rame, ò di bronzo grande, in cui si lessavano i Martiri, fatta, secondo che mostrano alcune antiche, di rame, e di bronzo, ritrovate nelle ruine della Città, à similitudine delle nostre pentole senza orlo,' Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio*, 81–82; in the Latin edition: idem, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, 155.

[79] Jetze Touber, 'Baronio e Gallonio: le fonti per il sapere martirologico' in: Luigi Gulia ed., *Baronio e le sue fonti: atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Sora, 10–13 ottobre 2007* (Sora: Centro di studi sorani, 2009) 391–409.

and illustration of historiography, material antiquities in northern Europe were often more prosaic in nature. Furthermore, this region missed the background of a literary historical tradition. Standing stones in England, items recovered from graves in Scandinavia and pottery that surfaced in the fields of Poland were precisely the historical remains that local scholars in those regions started making use of in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for the reconstruction of their own past. In the Mediterranean world there was scarcely any interest in such commonplace objects. It is a form of archaeology that concentrates on illiterate prehistoric society.[80]

The cooking pots, dug out of the remains of ancient Rome, that Gallonio describes, were more reminiscent of the earthenware jars and pots that surfaced from the ploughed earth in Poland than of the coins and sarcophagi of his fellow citizens. In Italy, the best-known scholar that in this period had an eye for the more prosaic relics of the past was neither a priest nor a historiographer, but a doctor: Michele Mercati (1541–1593). This papal physician made it plausible that certain flint objects were not by-products of lightning, but were in fact instruments made by people in the past.[81] He was not only a well-known collector of minerals and the author of a book about obelisks, but was also in close contact with the Oratory.[82] The common ground of Mercati's work and that of Gallonio will be addressed extensively in chapter 6.

Gallonio drew on a wide diversity of source material in his hagiographical oeuvre. For the factual account of the life of Neri he had the testimonies of witnesses available to him, while he quoted a circumscribed group

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[80] Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought*, 54–58, 93–95; Paul G. Bahn, *The Cambridge Illustrated History of Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 10, 35–52; Schnapp, *La conquête du passé*, 148–155; Momigliano, 'Ancient history and the antiquarian', 290–293.

[81] The passage in the work by Mercati: Michele Mercati, *Metallotheca Vaticana*, ed. Giovanni Maria Lancisi (Rome: G.M. Salvioni, 1717) 243–245.

[82] Thus, letters and remarks from Oratorians are included in the posthumous publication of his annotations to his collection of minerals, in which they commend Mercati for his virtuous character and his good work, and in doing so give evidence of a personal bond with the doctor: Mercati, *Metallotheca Vaticana*, xxxii–xxxiv, xxxvvii (Filippo Neri, Giovanni Giovenale Ancina, Cesare Baronio); from testimonies in the canonization process of Filippo Neri, the closeness of Mercati with the Oratorium is also apparent. Giovanni Incisa della Rocchetta and Nello Vian eds., *Il primo processo per San Filippo Neri nel Codice Vaticano Latino* 3798 *e in altri esemplari dell'archivio dell'Oratorio di Roma* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1957–1963) I, 145–146 [A. Alluminati]; IV, 193 n. 417 [fragment from the letter from Giovanni Giovenale Ancina to Filippo Neri about Mercati's illness in the complex of the Oratory].

of hagiographical publications for comparison. On the other hand, the sources he used to sketch the worldly context in which ancient *historia sacra* had manifested itself knew virtually no bounds. All genres, theatrical texts, rhetorical handbooks, moral writings, even juridical and medical literature were potentially relevant. Gallonio also drew on sources that today would be looked upon as archaeological. His use of sources such as inscriptions, paintings and frescoes, reliefs and objects of everyday use was neither systematic nor very critical. He constantly processed the quotations into a sort of collage, in which fragments of sources were perceptible, while their original context was no longer relevant. If Gallonio thus transcended the bounds of hagiography, it was instrumental in focusing the public's mind on the true and exemplary lives of the saints.

2.3 *The Christian History of the Oratorians*

The object of the thousands of pages of ecclesiastical history and hagiography written by the Oratorians was to demonstrate the continuity of Christian society since the time of the Apostles. In their vision, this society had constantly enjoyed the wise leadership of the priesthood, headed by the successors of Peter. A recurring motif in the writings of Gallonio and his fellow Oratorians is the tension between earthly ambitions and the abandonment of worldly things. In each period, worldly leaders and demagogues had threatened to drag Christian society along with them in their craving for earthly glory. However, God-fearing heroes always succeeded in upholding piety.

The Christian Imperium

Gallonio made selections from a tremendous fund of literary and non-literary sources with which he was able to give substance to his hagiographical projects. *Historia sacra* was not an amorphous mass of data, but had an internal categorization within which types and groups could be distinguished. Individual saints were classified, with corresponding typical actions and characteristics. For Gallonio's spiritual father Neri it was not so much the holy martyrs, the Christian soldiers, the founders of orders and monasteries or the religious scholars who served as models, but particularly the contemplative hermits and ascetics. Time after time, the ahistorical nature of *historia sacra* manifested itself in specific historical cases. There was a tension between the timeless signs of holiness and the continuous flow of chronological history. While the basis of all Gallonio's work is the recur-

rence of *historia sacra*, now and then specific, individual events in chronological history acquired exceptional lustre. Already mentioned is the special preference of the clergy of the Counter-Reformation for ancient Rome. For Gallonio, this was nowhere as clear as in the case of Saint Domitilla, a relative of the Flavian Emperors Vespasian, Titus and Domitian.

Flavia Domitilla belonged to a generation that had personally known the Apostles. She was, therefore, close to the origins of Christianity, and had heard the Gospel firsthand. This qualified her preeminently as a legitimate object of veneration and emulation. She was a member of an imperial family, so through her Christian heroism appeared to have found its way into the highest echelons of Roman society at an early stage. She was a young woman, so she was in a position to act as a Christian, spiritual counterbalance to the physical strength and material riches that determined relations in secular society. As a noble, humble but resolute Christian virgin she was a light shining in the middle of the transient darkness of pagan ambition and pride. At the same time she was a fitting example for emulation by the aristocratic young ladies whose spritual leadership Gallonio had taken upon himself. With this, the relationship of Flavia Domitilla to the Christian priesthood served as a model for the societal embedment of the clergy such as Gallonio advocated in his own Rome.

Moreover, in the *historia* of Flavia Domitilla and her companions, specific elements are found that appear to refer directly to the tension between a linear and a periodic view of Christian history. This is the cycle of birth, procreation and death in the worldly, chronological history. A recurring motif in Gallonio's historical writings is Christian glory. He perceived the *Ecclesia militans* as a continuing battle, in which victories were sometimes won that gave occasion for celebration. In his *Historia delle sante vergini romane*, the battles are often fought between virginity in the service of Christ and procreation in the service of a husband. The young woman that bore children would seemingly contribute to the immortality of herself and her husband as their blood and glory would live on in their children. This was only show, however; worldly glory was false and fleeting. In truth, the woman could achieve something of everlasting worth only by pledging herself to Christ and preserving her virginity. Instead of aspiring to worldly advancement she should pursue spiritual growth. She could consolidate such growth if God gave her the chance to become a martyr. Therefore, a woman could in a spiritual sense gain a military victory by being passive and undergoing the tortures by which others tormented her because of her faith and her vows. This was worth more, and

was of longer-lasting value than the active, military victories which the father of her children could gain.[83] The cult of the saints of the Roman Catholic Church was an everlasting reminder of the constant glory of the host of saints in Heaven. Conversely, the Roman Empire was precisely one of the most striking examples of the transience of earthly glory.

It was for this reason that the conversion and subsequent martyrdom of Flavia Domitilla formed such an important example for the female confessants of Gallonio. The girl from the imperial family chose virginity over a fruitful marriage to a man of good birth. This was reason for the pagan leaders to fight her, and Domitilla found herself compelled to wage war against the pressures exerted by her betrothed and his accomplices in the Roman judiciary. She fought courageously and ultimately was victorious, her reward being the crown and the palm of martyrdom. That a lady from the house of the Flavian emperors had submitted to Christ was all the more meaningful as these emperors were looked upon as ancestors of Constantine the Great. While it was not until 312 that Christianity would enjoy public protection through Emperor Constantine, the conversion of Flavia Domitilla meant that some members of the imperial dynasty were already favorably disposed towards Christianity in the first century A.D., the time of the Apostles. Thus, the claim 'semper eadem', 'always the same', the motto of the *Annales ecclesiastici*, also applied to a certain extent to the imperial protection of Christianity.[84]

The metaphor of the passive Christian triumph as a spiritual alternative to the active worldly triumph pervades the *historia* of Flavia Domitilla. At the outset Domitilla makes herself ready for an encounter with her betrothed, Aurelianus, son of the consul. Her two eunuchs, Nereus and Achilleus, look on in sadness. In a long dialogue they persuade Domitilla

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[83] Ditchfield, 'An early Christian school of sanctity', 194–195, stresses the care with which Gallonio reconstructed the links with noble families of several early Christian virgins, mostly martyrs. This served to emphasize the contrast between the passive spiritual glory of the Christian (aristocratic) virgin and the active worldly glory of the pagan nobleman. See chapter 5 on the aristocracy, weaponry and instruments of torture.

[84] 'Di più altri Imperatori di questa stessa famiglia discesi, cioè Claudio il giovane, Quintillo, Costanzo, Costantino, Costante, Costantino, e Costanzo minori, e Giuliano, habbiamo ragionato più avanti.' Gallonio, *Historia della vita e martirio de'gloriosi santi*, 32; in the Latin version: 'Imperatores autem Flaviae gentis fuere hi, qui sequuntur Flavius Vespasianus, Titus Flavius Vespasianus, Flavius Domitianus, Claudius iunior, Quintillus Claudii frater, Flavius Constantius Clorus Constantini magni pater natus ex Claudia Crispi Claudii et Quintilli Imperatorum fratris filia, Constantinus item, Constantinus alter iunior, Constans, et Constantius fratres Constantini ex Fausta filii, Julianus, et alii.' BibVal Ms. G.99 f. 5vo.

to back out of her marriage, emphasizing that pregnancy is distressing and dangerous, that her children could have deformities, and that she would lose her autonomy to a man who, after their marriage, would rule over her like a tyrant. Conversely, the choice of Christ as her bridegroom would bring her 'grandeur and trophies'. She allows herself to be convinced, and swears an oath of piety and chastity in the presence of Pope Clement I. As a result, she and her servants become the victims of protracted persecution by her former betrothed. After living in banishment on the island of Ponza, Nereus and Achilleus are tortured and beheaded. Domitilla and her female companions, also converted, are ultimately burned to death in the house where Aurelianus has them imprisoned.[85] The emblematic character of the story is clear: Christian eunuchs, themselves unable to reproduce, convince the nubile young woman of imperial stock that eternal life is preferable to temporal achievements.

The Oratorians played out this metaphor, not only as a written narrative but also during lavish celebrations in honor of Domitilla and her fellow martyrs. As a result, the topicality in the sixteenth century of the Flavian princess and her servants, and thus their non-historical, recurrent natures, came clearly to the fore. When Cesare Baronio became cardinal

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[85] Gallonio, *Historia delle sante vergini romane*, 50–62. The spiritual alternative to worldly glory and procreation emerges very clearly from the discussion between Flavia Domitilla and her two eunuchs: Domitilla stated that marriage would put the woman in a position to immortalize herself and her husband 'in a certain way' through her children: 'poi che mediante esso [i.e. marriage], si acquistano figliuoli, si fanno eterne le memorie de'mortali, & in un certo modo i proprii genitori vengono ne i lor parti à perpetuarsi'. Nereus and Achilleus offer a whole set of arguments to the contrary, the decisive argument being that Domitilla would be able to experience the eternal glory of Heaven if she were to maintain her virginity: 'quali saranno poi nel Cielo le tue grandezze, quali i trofei, & in quai fiumi di piaceri nella patria del tuo sposo immersa ti troverai? Deh che dirai, mentre da gli Angeli ti vedrai essere tanto ardentemente amata, che quando appresso ti vedrai lo sposo tuo Christo di eccessiva bellezza, e maravigliosa gratia adorno, circondato di luce, e splendor tale, che di gran lunga quello del Sole, quando è nella maggior sua chiarezza, supera e vince, vestito di vestimenti di gloria, e coronato di gemme, e di oro, e ti si mostrerà amabile, benigno, gratioso, e dolce, e ti ammetterà a'suoi casti e puri abbracciamenti, e di lui degna faratti, e come sua fedele sposa teneramente amandoti, di vaghe e immarcessibili corone ti adornerà le chiome? Elleggi per tanto Domitilla quale sposo di questi vuoi, massime diambi due sapendo tu le conditioni, e qualità.' Ibid., 51, 53. See also Ditchfield, 'An early Christian school of sanctity', 195–197, which points to the same conversation because of the pedagogic element for sixteenth-century young women, and ibid., 189, for a metaphor used by Baronio, comparing virginity with a fruit that always stays good, arising from the seed of the Apostles and the fertile soil of the Church. Again sexual abstinence is associated here with 'spiritual reproduction'. Jean-Michel Sallmann also suggests that a tension was perceived in the early modern age between the worldly glory of dynastic politics and the spiritual glory of virginity in the service of God: Jean-Michel Sallmann, *Naples et ses saints à l'âge baroque (1540–1750)* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1994) 158.

and chose the basilica of Santi Nereo ed Achilleo as his titular church, he had extensive restoration work carried out on it. In particular, he had the choir area rearranged and styled after the structure of the old, Constantinian basilica of Saint Peter with a raised *presbyterium* and a lowered *confessio* with an opening that looked out onto the relics. Parts of the choir area were given an old mosaic decoration, the materials for which Baronio obtained from other churches, including the San Paolo fuori le Mura and the San Silvestro in Capite.[86] The cardinal also arranged for a completely new series of wall frescos, both inside and on the exterior façade. The walls of the aisles were decorated with scenes of the deaths of the Apostles. In the spaces between the windows of the clerestory scenes were painted of the lives and deaths of the protagonists of the *historia* of Flavia Domitilla, Nereus and Achilleus. Some frescoes had the same structure as the engravings of the treatises of martyrdom of Gallonio, and as the paintings executed in the Jesuit churches of Santo Stefano Rotondo, San Tommaso di Canterbury and Sant'Apollinare in the previous decade; events that succeeded one another chronologically came together on a single panel, with an explanatory legend beneath.[87] Gallonio documented and described these events in his various versions of the story of Domitilla and her companions.[88] His historical works about these saints were thus part of a comprehensive multimedia project.

Baronio had a column erected facing the entrance of the church with a capital in the form of a winged lion, said to have originated from the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem. The crowning of the column with a cross symbolized the replacement of the old law of the Jews with the new church of Jesus Christ. However, it also referred to the destruction of the old Temple of Solomon, which had occurred on the orders of Emperor Titus, a relative of Domitilla.[89] The Christian temple in honor of the eunuchs who had won the noblewoman over to Christianity served as a counterpart to the destruction wreaked by the warlike emperor. This

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[86] Alexandra Herz, 'Cardinal Cesare Baronio's restoration of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo and S. Cesareo de'Appia', *Art Bulletin* 70 (1988) 590–620 (598–602); Generoso Calenzio, *La vita e gli scritti del cardinale Cesare Baronio* (Rome: Tipografia Vaticana, 1907) 474–475.

[87] Alessandro Zuccari, 'La politica culturale dell'Oratorio romano nelle imprese artistiche promosse da Cesare Baronio', *Storia dell'Arte* 41 (1981) 171–193 (171–179, ill. 39 and 40).

[88] The earlier-mentioned *Historia della vita e martirio de'gloriosi santi Flavia Domitilla vergine, Nereo, et Acchilleo* and 'Historia sanctorum martyrum Flaviae Domitillae virginis Nerei Achillei' in: BibVal Ms. G.99.

[89] Irina Oryshkevich, 'Roma Sotterranea and the Biogenesis of New Jerusalem', *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 55/56 (2009) 174–181 (177); Herz, 'Cardinal Cesare Baronio's restoration', 594–597.

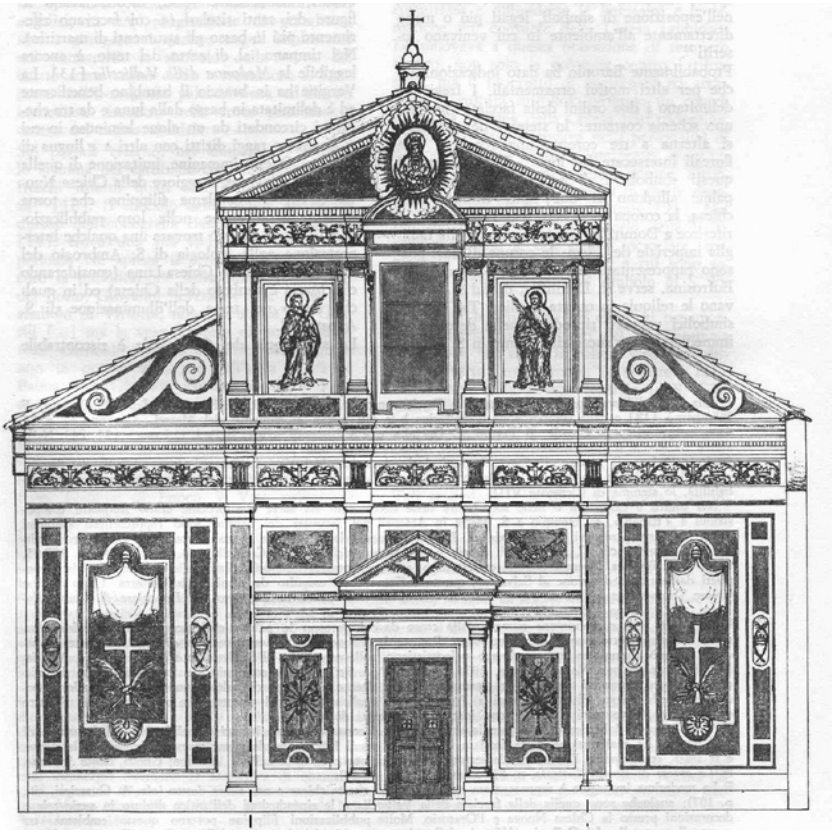

Fig. 2e. Reconstruction drawing of the decorations of the façade of Santi Nereo ed Achilleo, from: Alessandro Zuccari 'La politica culturale dell'Oratorio romano nelle imprese artistiche promosse da Cesare Baronio', *Storia dell'Arte* 41 (1981) 171–193, drawing by the author.

image was complemented by frescoes on the façade that did not depict events, but rather collections of instruments of torture. The instruments of torture were tied together, in a framework reminiscent of the ancient *panoplia*, a set manner used to represent the weapons and armor of Greek or Roman soldiers. Comparable martyrological *panoplia* were also to be found in the Italian version of Gallonio's treatise of martyrdom. The weapons of passive martyrdom replaced the weapons of active military glory (Figs. 2e, 2f, 2g, 2h).[90] The hagiographical project, with the section on the holy virgins and the section on the instruments of torture, together fit

[90] Ibid., 606–610 ; Zuccari, 'La politica culturale dell'Oratorio romano nelle imprese artistiche', 171–179, ill. 39 and 40. Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio*, 53, 75, 159.

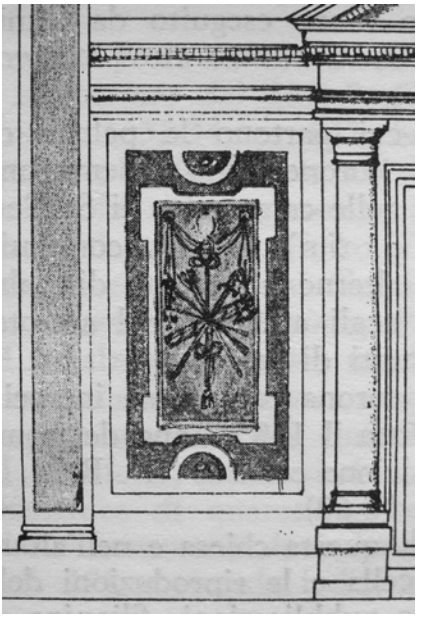

Fig. 2f. Detail from fig. 2e.

within a complex of media that reactivated the Christian history of the Flavian imperial era in the Counter-Reformation.

Baronio was able to seal the refurbishing of the Santi Nereo ed Achilleo in 1597 with the *depositio* of the relics of Flavia Domitilla, Nereus and Achilleus under the altar. In 1589, Cardinal Agostino Cusano (1542–1598), friend of the Oratorians, had found these relics under the principal altar of his own titular church, the Sant'Adriano al Foro. In 1597 he donated the relics to the Oratory. With the permission of the pope, Baronio took the relics in procession to the church dedicated to Nereus and Achilleus at the foot of the thermal baths of Caracalla. To mark this occasion the Oratorians organized an exuberant pageant. Musicians played, and flowers, plants and elegant banners were hung along the route. Where possible, people leaned out of their windows and thronged the doorways in order to catch a glimpse of the event.[91] The procession went from the Sant'Adriano, past the Forum Trajanum, and veered off in order to pass along the San Marco to the Gesù. From the Jesuit church it turned off again in the direction of the Forum, climbed the Capitol and descended on the other side to

[91] BibVal Ms. G.99 ff. 13vo–14ro.

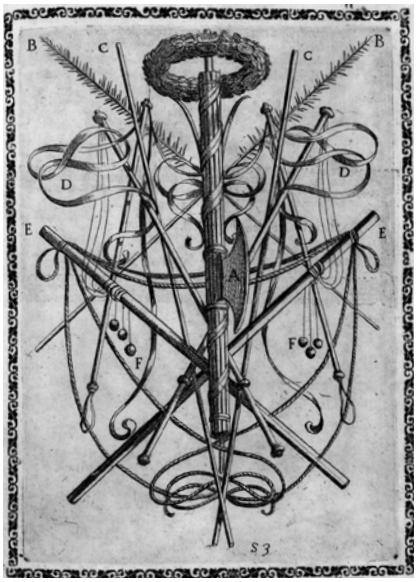

Fig. 2g. Giovanni Guerra and Antonio Tempesta, *Panoplia of instruments for beating*, engraving, from: Antonio Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio* (Rome: A. and G. Donangeli, 1591) 53.

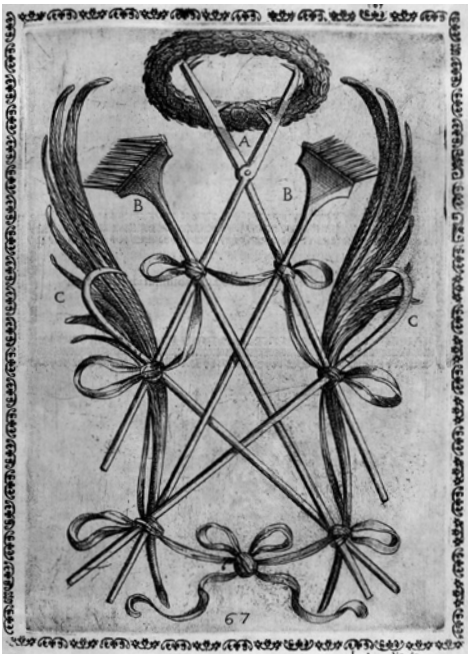

Fig. 2h. Giovanni Guerra and Antonio Tempesta, *Panoplia of instruments for tearing*, engraving from: Antonio Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio* (Rome: A. and G. Donangeli, 1591) 67.

the Arch of Septimius Severus, proceeded over the Forum and passed the Arch of Titus, after which it turned right towards the Arch of Constantine, ultimately taking to the Via Appia near the Circus Maximus which led to the Baths of Caracalla (Figs. 2i, 2j).[92]

This was an ingeniously thought-out festive parade. It was a Roman triumphal procession, but in honor of a Christian triumph. Gallonio himself explains in the Latin *vita* that this was a celebration of the Christian virgin in her capacity as Flavian princess. He emphasizes that it was fitting that the procession passed the triumphal arch of Emperor Titus, her relative, and the triumphal arch of Emperor Constantine the Great, who was an indirect descendant of the Flavians.[93] The Oratorians therefore transformed the triumphal imperial arches into triumphal arches in honor of Domitilla and her eunuchs. The arches were covered with texts that applauded the glorious victories of the saints.[94] The reinterment of

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[92] Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, II, 1163–1167; Krautheimer, 'A Christian triumph of 1597', 176–177; Sergio Bertelli, 'Storiografia, eruditi, antiquari e politici' in: Emilio Cecchi and Natalino Sapegno eds., *Storia della letteratura italiana* V *Il Seicento* (Milan: Garzanti, 1967) 269–359 (291–294); Calenzio, *La vita e gli scritti*, 473–483. For the route: 'Iter autem quo sacer triumphus publica pompa ferendus erat, decretum fuit ut sequens esset Ab ecclesia Sancti Adriani, ubi sacra corpora quiescebant, ad carcerem Mamertinum, [. . .], inde ad Macellum corvorum, areamque S. Marci, tum ad plateam Alteriorum nuncupatum ubi [. . .] templum nomini Jesu dicatum extat, inde ad viam, quam Pontificiam vocant, atque ad Capitolium, tùm ad fornicem Septimii, a quo ad foram Romanum, atque ad saxum Flavio Tito Vespasiano virginis propinquo [. . .] erectum, inde parvo ad dexteram flexu ad Constantini Magni Flaviae gentis Imperatoris praeclarissimi fornicem ex quo ad Septizonium Severi, viamque Appiam, indeque demum ad novam Basilicam Sanctis hisce martyribus dicatam.' BibVal Ms. G.99 f. 13vo.

[93] 'Atque sic iter aptè quidem et congruenter dispositum; maxime si quidem decebat, ut cum solemni pompa Beatae Flaviae Domitillae virginis corpus una cum corporibus Beatorum Nerei et Achillei ad antiquam sedem exportaretur per Capitolium perque fornices Titi et Constantini triumphus procederet: [. . .] Fornices verò quoniam Imperatoribus e nobilissimo Flaviorum stemmate procreatis Flavio videlicet Tito, et Flavio Constantino a Senatu Populoque Romano decreti fuerunt', BibVal Ms. G.99 ff. 13vo–14ro. See also Silvia Grassi Fiorentino, 'Note sull'antiquaria romana nella seconda metà del secolo XVI' in: Romeo De Maio e.a., *Baronio storico e la Controriforma: atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Sora 6–10 ottobre 1979* (Sora: Centro di studi sorani, 1982) 204–210 (210); Krautheimer, 'A Christian triumph of 1597', *passim*.

[94] On the arch of Septimius Severus: 'S.P.Q.R. / SS. FL. DOMITILLAE, NEREO, ET ACHILLEO / OPTIMIS CIVIBUS SUIS / OB NOMEN ROMANUM GLORIOSA MORTE ILLUSTRATUM / PARTAMQUE CHRISTIANAE REIP. PROPRIO SANGUINE, / TRANQUILLITATEM' and 'S.P.Q.R. / SS. FL. DOMITILLAE, NEREO, ET ACHILLEO / INVICTISSIMIS IESU CHRISTI MARTYRIBUS / OB URBEM PRAECLARO CHRISTIANAE FIDEI TESTIMONIO / DECORATAM, ORNATAMQUE'; on the arch of Titus: 'S.P.Q.R. / TRIUMPHALEM HUNC ARCUM, OLIM TITO FL. VESP. AUG. / OB TUMULTUANTEM IUDAEAM IMP. PO. RO. RESTITUTAM / DECRETUM, ET ERECTUM / S. FL. DOMITILLAE, EIUSDEM TITI NEPTI, / OB CHRISTIANA. RELIGIONEM PROPRIA MORTE AUCTAM, PROPAGAT.Q. / MULTO FOELICIUS NUNC DECERNIT CONSECRATQ.' and 'S. FL. DOMITILLAE VIRG. ET MART. RO. / TITI FL. VESP. AUG. NEPTI, / QUOD IESU CHRISTI MORTEM, AB EODEM TITO, EVERSIS HIEROSOLYMIS / DIVINO CONSILIO VINDICATAM, / IPSA, SANGUINE, VITAQ. PRO EIUS FIDE PROFUSIS, / GLORIOSUS CONSECRAVERIT / S.P.Q.R.'; on the arch of Constantine: 'SS. FL. DOMITILLAE, NEREO, ET ACHILLEO / VIA SACRA, QUA PLURES RO. IMPP. AA. / DE SUBACTIS IMP. PO. RO. PROVINCIIS, / TRIUMPHARUNT. / DE IPSIS TRIUMPHATORIBUS, QUANTO FORTIUS SUPERATIS / TANTO GLORIOSUS

Fig. 2i. Franz Hogenberg, *Rome*, engraving from Conrad Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* I (Cologne: s.n., 1572) 45.

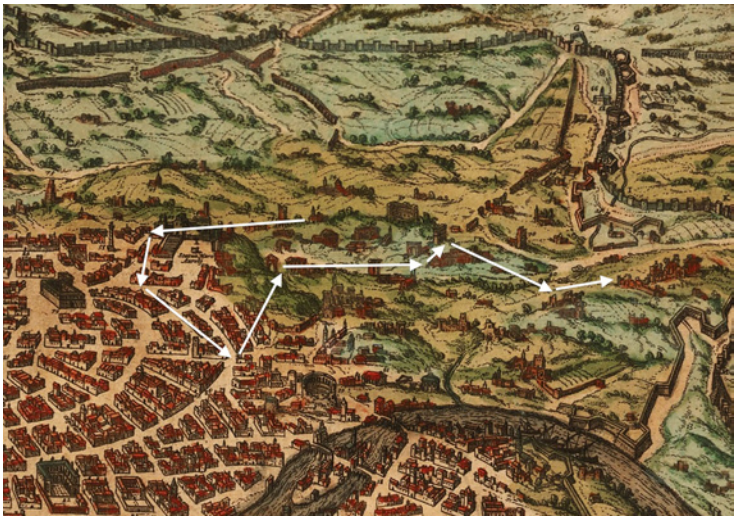

Fig. 2j. Detail from fig. 2i, with the route of the *translatio* of the relics of Flavia Domitilla, Nereus and Achilleus, reconstructed on the basis of BibVal Ms. G.99 f. 13vo.

Domitilla and her eunuchs was a celebration of an exceptionally important episode of *historia sacra*, an episode which Tridentine Catholics could hope to relive in their own era, an episode in which *historia sacra* became interwoven with the center of power of secular Antiquity.

The Clergy and the World

In the triumphant celebrations of the Christian victories of late antique and early medieval Christianity, the Roman clergy also found predecessors that they themselves could imitate fruitfully. *Historia sacra* was felt to contain recurring elements, and the clergy was particularly sensitive to predecessors with whom they could identify. In principle, every heroic priest, monk or friar from the past was a model to be emulated. There were, however, some generations that the Oratorians found particularly inspiring: those of the Apostles, Pope Clement I, Church Father Jerome and Pope Gregory I.

To begin with, there was the clergy of the first century A.D., the generation that had learned of the gospel firsthand. In the *Annales ecclesiastici* Baronio saw the *Oratorio grande*, the afternoon meetings of his own order with discourses, as a revival of the meetings that Paul mentions in the First Letter to the Corinthians.[95] Neri was known as the Apostle of Rome. His disciples were reminders of the first generation of Christian converts who lived together in communities in an austere and humble fashion, and who instructed others on Christian life.[96]

The entourage of Flavia Domitilla was also of importance to the role of the Oratorians as the new apostolic community in Rome. It was under Pope Clement I that, according to ecclesiastical tradition, a start was made with the registration of those Christians who had met with violent deaths as martyrs. In this way, Clement I was the legendary founder of the *Acta martyrum*, the Acts of the Martyrs, for which he even appointed clerks

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TRIUMPHANTIBUS / S.P.Q.R.' and 'S. FL. DOMITILLAE VIRG. ET MART. RO. / QUOD GENTEM FLAVIAM, URBEMQ. À .XII. RO. IMPP. AA. GENTILIB. SUIS / REBUS PRAECLARE GESTIS DECORATAM, / UNA, IMPERIO, VITAQ. PRO CHRISTO TRADITIS, / OMNIUM PRAECLARISSIME ILLUSTRAVERIT. / S.P.Q.R.' BibVal Ms. G.99 ff. 14ro–14vo. See also Krautheimer, 'A Christian triumph of 1597', 176–177; Giuseppe Lais, *Memorie del titolo di Fascìola e discussione sul valore storico degli atti de'ss. mm. Flavia Domitilla, Nereo, Achilleo* (Rome: M. Armanni, 1880) 60–61.

[95] Zen, *Baronio storico*, 18; Herz, 'Cardinal Cesare Baronio's restoration', 591–593. The reference is to 1 Corinthians 14:26–33.

[96] Antonio Cistellini, 'Filippo Neri, prete romano' in: Maria Teresa Bonadonna Russo and Niccolò del Re eds., *San Filippo Neri nella realtà romana del XVI secolo* (Rome: Società romana di storia patria, 2000) 5–12 (7–8); idem, *San Filippo Neri*, I, 197.

who kept registers of the victims for each of the urban districts of Rome.[97] Oratorians such as Baronio and Gallonio were the sixteenth-century successors to these clerks. They preserved the memory of the martyrs, and maintained their veneration by revising and propagating *passiones* and other hagiographical texts.

This parallel between the Oratorians and the clergy under Clement I becomes strikingly apparent in the way Gallonio modified the account of the burial of Flavia Domitilla between 1591/1593 and 1597. After the imperial princess and her companions had perished in the flames, a cleric came to collect what remained of their bodies and provide for their interment. In the *Historia delle sante vergini romane* of 1591 (i.e. 1593) this cleric was identified by Gallonio as 'Deacon Cyriac'. In 1597, in the booklets that Gallonio wrote on the occasion of the festive procession, he altered this to 'Deacon Caesarius'.[98] Bearing in mind that Cesare Baronio had become *deacon*-cardinal, it appears that in the new versions Gallonio had altered the text to make the identification of his own fellow Oratorian with the first-century cleric stand out as clearly as possible.[99] Cesare Baronio made arrangements for a worthy last resting place for the relics of Flavia Domitilla, Nereus and Achilleus, just like the deacon Caesarius had done fifteen centuries earlier.

The identification of Baronio with Caesarius was also expressed in the fresco that Baronio had commissioned for the apse vault of the church of Santi Nereo ed Achilleo. On this fresco a group of ten saints from the *historia* of Flavia Domitilla, Nereus and Achilleus are to be seen on both sides of a *crux gemmata*. The figure on the extreme left is the only one that has turned towards the beholders, while he points with his hand towards the embellished cross. This figure depicts Caesarius the Deacon.[100]

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[97] Aigrain, *L'Hagiographie*, 95.

[98] 'Il giorno seguente andò *Ciriaco* Diacono con molti Christiani nella camera, per dare alle Vergini sepoltura, [...]. Furono i corpi con honore sepeliti à laude e gloria di nostro Signore Giesù Christo, il quale per sua bontà nella gloria del suo santo regno ci conduca.' Gallonio, *Historie delle sante vergini romane*, 59 (emphasis added); 'Il giorno seguente andò S. *Cesario* diacono con altri Christiani nella camera, per dare alle Vergini sepoltura, [...]. Furono i corpi dunque con honore sepelliti, come si conveniva, e quei tempi comportavano.' Idem, *Historia della vita e martirio de'gloriosi santi Flavia Domitilla vergine, Nereo, et Acchilleo*, 19 (emphasis added).

[99] Possibly Baronio himself ordered this change. Gallonio was allowed to publish the pamphlet only after its approval by the cardinal: Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, I, 1167. Possibly, though, it was Gallonio's own initiative, since in the Latin manuscript of the *historia* of 1597, which was never published, the name Caesarius is also to be found. BibVal Ms. G.99 f. 3vo.

[100] Herz, 'Cardinal Cesare Baronio's restoration', 610–611.

Baronio's namesake was in direct contact with the visitors to his titular church, which he had had refurbished so that services could be held there once more.

Pope Clement VIII also had a share in the revival of the heroic history of first-century Christianity. The pope under whom Flavia Domitilla had let herself be deterred from worldly marriage was named Clement, just like the pope under whom the Oratorians fed their female confessants with historical and hagiographical texts. The clergy frequently hinted at similar homonymy when writing about their predecessors' deeds. In 1594 Fabio Tempestivi (†1616ca.), a friend of the Oratorians, wrote a letter about the canonization proceedings for Chiara da Montefalco (1268–1308) that had never been completed and that he hoped might be reopened. He observed the following chronological analogy: it was a notable fact that this saint had been born in the third year of the pontificate of Clement IV (†1268, pope 1265) and that she had died in the third year of the pontificate of Clement V (†1314, pope 1305). It would be even more notable, according to Tempestivi, if the virtues and miracles of this saint were to be reexamined in the third year of the pontificate of Clement VIII.[101]

The extent to which the Oratorians involved Clement VIII in their views on recurring history is apparent from the restoration works commissioned by Baronio. Apart from the work in the Santi Nereo ed Achilleo, Baronio also had architecture, paintings and frescoes restored in the interior of the Santi Cesareo ed Ippolito on the Via Appia. The sections of the wall between the windows and the clerestory were decorated with frescoes in which all the saints appeared that bore the name 'Caesarius' or 'Hippolytus', just like the church's titular saints. The Caesarii were of course namesakes of Baronio, while the Hippolyti were namesakes of Clement VIII, who had been known as Ippolito Aldobrandini prior to becoming pope.[102] Baronio was the father confessor of Clement VIII, so he could indulge himself by placing the pope and himself in the succession of heroic priests of the first centuries of Christianity.

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[101] 'E cosa notabile, che questa Santa naque l'anno terzo del Pontificato di Clemente quarto, e morse l'anno terzo del Pontificato di Clemente V. E piu notabile saria se nel anno terzo del Pontificato di Clemente ottavo si ravedessero, et manifestassero piu illustramente le virtu, et miracoli di questa Santa', BibVal Ms. H.3 ff. 315ro–315vo. The letter was addressed to Tempestivi's brother Cherubino. How this letter arrived among Gallonio's papers is dealt with in § 3.1. For the relation between Fabio Tempestivi and the Oratorians: Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, I, 486 n. 29.

[102] Herz, 'Cardinal Cesare Baronio's restoration', 167.

In addition to the heroic Clementine model, the pastoral Gregorian model was also of great importance to the Oratorians. The step from the first generation after Peter, that of Pope Clement I and the Flavian Christians in the first century A.D., to the era of Gregory the Great in the sixth century, in which Christianity in the Latin west was consolidated, is less random than it might seem at first glance. Pope Gregory had delivered a famous homily in the basilica of Santi Nereo ed Achilleo. In this sermon the pope comments on a passage from the Gospel of John, in which an official begs Christ to come and heal his son. The moral of the sermon is that Christ does not need to physically go to the man's son to be able to restore him to health. Gregory goes on to reflect on the importance of spiritual growth, which the Christian should choose over physical and material advancement. He also mentions the saints whose relics at that time were still present in the basilica in which he was delivering his homily: Flavia Domitilla, Nereus and Achilleus.[103] Thus, for Gregory the Great too, the essential significance of the life histories of these Christian martyrs was the rejection of worldly glory in favor of spiritual glory. Baronio had the episode of the delivery of this homily by Gregory the Great painted on the back wall of the apse. In this fresco, the impression was created that the nave extended further backwards and, in contrast to the other frescoes, the figures wore contemporary sixteenth-century clothing. The link between the sixteenth century and the sixth century was thus at least as strong as the link with the first century.[104]

This is also apparent from the further artistic patronage of Cardinal Baronio. After Baronio had completed the restoration and renovation work in his titular church Santi Nereo ed Achilleo and in the church of Santi Cesareo ed Ippolito, he became commendatory abbot (an abbot not actively involved in administration) of the monastery of San Gregorio al Celio in 1602. This occasioned a new cycle of architectural and artistic intervention. Not only the church of San Gregorio al Celio itself, but also the nearby oratories of Sant'Andrea and Santa Barbara were to undergo integral renovations, while next to them would arise a new oratory in honor of Saint Sylvia. In the oratory of Santa Barbara, also called the *triclinium* because Gregory himself is said to have eaten there, Baronio had

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[103] Gregory the Great, 'Homilia XXVIII' in: Jacques-Paul Migne ed., *Patrologiae Cursus Completus* (Paris: Garnier, 1849) LXXVI, 1210–1213.

[104] Herz, 'Cardinal Cesare Baronio's restoration', 618–620; Maryvelma Smith O'Neil, 'The patronage of Baronio at San Gregorio Magno' in: De Maio, *Baronio e l'arte*, 145–171 (149–150).

a life-size statue of the pope installed, depicting him as blessing the meal. On the saint's day of Saint Gregory, Baronio, in emulation of the sixth-century pope's charity, provided twelve poor beggars with a meal here.[105] Like the frescoes on the back wall of the church of Santi Nereo ed Achilleo, the works on the church and the oratories of San Gregorio al Celio also had the objective of reactivating the pastoral heritage of the Church Father.[106]

One last example from the gallery of Christian heroes who were exceptionally dear to the Oratorians is Jerome. To begin with, the Oratory had come into being in a church that was dedicated to this Church Father, the San Girolamo della Carità.[107] Tarugi had compared Gallonio with Hilarion, the ascetic saint whose life Jerome had written about, but there are also some parallels between the life of the Church Father himself and the role that Gallonio took on. Jerome had had a following of women who drank in his wisdom. Gallonio also acted as father confessor to virgins and widows, and his hagiographic work was to some extent written for a female public. Furthermore, as a translator of the Bible, Jerome was a scholar who made Christian wisdom accessible to a wide public. In a well-known letter which, not coincidentally, had virginity as its subject, the Church Father described how God had appeared to him in a dream and had reprimanded him on account of his mastery in classical rhetoric, telling him that he must write in simpler Latin. In this he is a model for the scholar who repents, looking upon his worldly erudition as a burden instead of a blessing, and therefore applies his intellectual capacities to help believers share in the Christian revelation.[108] Gallonio saw himself destined for a similar task. He thus compared his Italian version of the Latin *Vita* of Neri with Jerome's translation of Athanasius' Greek *Vita* of the holy Anthony.[109]

The Tridentine priesthood clearly saw themselves as the heirs of the previous guardians of Christian society, who through the centuries had led the community of the church and had preserved it from attacks, both

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105 Ibid., 145, 159–161.

106 Occhipinti, *Pirro Ligorio*, 251.

107 Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, I, 47–116.

108 Eugene F. Rice Jr., *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1985) 1–4.

109 'Questa dunque fù la cagione [. . .] che mosse San Girolamo à scrivere in Latino la Vita di S. Antonio, la quale S. Athanasio Arcivescovo Alessandrino haveva in Greco fatta, parendogli ragionevole, e giusto, che l'attioni di un tanto huomo non solo à Greci, ma à Latini ancora, che lingua Greca non intendevano, si dovessero rendere comuni,' Gallonio, *Vita del beato padre*, ¶2ro.

from within and without. In their own way, Gallonio and Baronio both cultivated in word and image the representation of the Roman clergy as hermits, shepherds and heroes. While Neri often manifested himself as a disengaged priest according to the model of the eastern ascetics, the examples of Clement I, Gregory the Great and Jerome were more active. The Clementine model gave inspiration for undaunted perseverance, the Gregorian model for loving care, both pedagogic and physical, and the Hieronymian model for the application of one's intellectual capacities for a broad and poorly educated public.

2.4 *Conclusion*

Gallonio's hagiographical works combined two sometimes conflicting aims: to convey the timeless characteristics of sanctity that manifested themselves again and again, inalterable throughout the ages, and to prove that every single known representative of sainthood had indeed been demonstrably real, embedded in the historical context of his or her life. These two aims were pursued with varying intensity in Gallonio's works, resulting in a diverse hagiographical oeuvre. The extremes of the spectrum of this oeuvre are represented by two works that remained unpublished during his lifetime: the brief *vita* of Elena Massimo and the 'Vitae sanctorum qui post Christi ascensum vixerunt'. The first work is an impassioned song of praise for the piety of a girl who in her short life experienced little that was worthy of mention. The second work is an impenetrable accumulation of quotations from all possible manner of hagiographical sources through which the author wished to record the incontrovertible historicity of the life stories of early Christian saints. Gallonio's published works, the treatises of martyrdom, the *vitae* of early Christian saints and the *Vita* of Neri can all be ranked somewhere between the two extremes of edification and factuality. They all contributed in some way or another to the Oratory's and, more generally, to the Church's collective effort to spotlight the changeless *historia sacra* within the constantly changing history of human endeavors and power relations.

As a result of the rapid increase in available and sometimes conflicting historical information, as well as the pressures from Protestant Europe, the need was greater than ever for sound documentation and justification of hagiography and church history. This entailed certain consequences for the choice and use of source material. The Tridentine writers were searching continually for reliable editions and unpublished documents.

Furthermore, the writers of ecclesiastical history and hagiography broadened their fields of vision, both geographically and thematically. They collected sources from all over Christian Europe, in particular from the Greek-speaking regions. In addition, profane histories, pagan literature and juridical texts were also enlisted for the elucidation of *historia sacra*. Even non-textual sources, such as epigraphy, visual arts and utensils, were called upon to buttress the Church's claim that it had embodied the Christian community since Apostolic times.

Gallonio used this variety of sources indiscriminately—and, in the case of material and visual sources, quite uncritically. This indicates that his interest in Christian Antiquity and its graphic visualizations was not merely motivated by the need for factual evidence, maybe not even primarily. Rather, it was a result of his conviction that what mattered were the perceptible signs of unchangeable *historia sacra* which transcended the passage of time. This is corroborated by Gallonio's uncommon mention of simple everyday objects from Antiquity, interchangeable utensils without evident chronological coordinates. The conviction that *historia sacra* was insusceptible to the vagaries of historical change also determined how Gallonio's hagiographical works encroached upon secular disciplines such as law, medicine and engineering. The virtues of sanctity were superior to the vulnerable and vacillating authorities of ingenuity and competence.

The same conviction inspired the Oratorians' devotional focus on the imperial princess Flavia Domitilla and her eunuch companions. Again, *historia sacra* showed how change, inherent in profane history, was overcome. Martyrdom, the sacrifice of one's own blood in imitation of Christ, was preferable to the continuation of one's own bloodline for the benefit of dynastic continuity. This moral also underlined the importance of the priesthood to which Gallonio himself belonged, because the clergy continued the spiritual bloodline of those who, in celibacy, dedicated their lives to God. Clement I (pope during the lifetime of Domitilla), Gregory the Great and Jerome had set important examples for the performance of the hagiographical, pastoral, liturgical and scholarly duties that the Oratorians took upon themselves.

CHAPTER THREE

JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS AND MALICIOUS TORTURE

The historical writings of hagiography were not only memorials and educative texts, but also works of reference with relevance for legal issues. Hagiographical texts had evidential value in the legal proceedings in which the validity of the cult of the saints was judged. As a result of the veneration of Filippo Neri, which began immediately after his death, Antonio Gallonio became involved in such ecclesiastical legal procedures. The most concrete result of his legal work is the unpublished tract 'De his quae praestari possunt nondum canonizatis', about the Church's reaction to spontaneous expressions of devotion to recently deceased persons.

Ecclesiastical recognition of sainthood was a delicate question. On the one hand the Church needed its saints, both to reinforce confessional cohesion—the faithful participated *en masse* in processions and collective liturgical celebrations—and in support of its claim to the stewardship of divine mystery, to which the numerous relics were such powerful witnesses. On the other hand, however, it had to prevent uncontrolled veneration by those same believers, which could lead to excesses that would undermine the Church's credibility—with consequences that had become evident decades earlier when parts of Europe broke away from the Mother Church. In a series of publications that began to appear during Gallonio's lifetime, ecclesiastical authors attempted to avert this danger by elaborating the canonization procedure in all its facets.

Gallonio had little faith either in the generally applicable procedures that were in force or in the central institutions that applied these procedures. His position was diametrically opposed to that of interventionist professional jurists such as canon lawyer Francisco Peña (1540–1612), who was a champion of the active interference of the Church's tribunals in the veneration of saints. Gallonio and Peña came into conflict over the procedure to be followed, with Gallonio championing the veneration of deceased persons whom the Church had not yet officially recognized as saints, in anticipation of the signs by which God would eventually reveal his decision. The short treatise 'De his quae praestari possunt nondum canonizatis' was Gallonio's ammunition in this conflict. Despite his aversion to tight juridical control, Gallonio unabashedly employed legal terminology and jurisprudence relating to canonization.

A constant feature of this canonical literature is the distinction between sainthood on the one hand and the signs required to make such sainthood perceptible on the other. Confessors, charismatic saints who had not died in martyrdom, provided such signs through their ascesis and through the miracles they performed. With regard to confessors, Gallonio had to deal with rules that prescribed how the observation of these signs could lead to the canonical recognition of a saint. In martyrdom, in which saints underwent violence for the sake of their faith, the perceptible signs were the utterances of the martyr and of his persecutors during torture. The canonical rules were not so highly developed with regard to martyrdom. Gallonio's treatise of martyrdom therefore did not tie in directly with the administrative-juridical discussion about canonization. Rather, in this treatise, following age-old *topoi*, the Oratorian put forward martyrdom as the reversal of criminal procedures: while in criminal justice society was the victim of the malefactor, in martyrdom it was the Christian who was the victim of irreligious society. In this reversal, Gallonio's attitude with regard to the judiciary truly shows. Although he was conversant in ecclesiastical and worldly law, he dismissed legal procedures as symptoms of the worldly ambition to control society and subdue personal piety.

3.1 *Canonization Process*

In January 1597, Antonio Gallonio made a statement in the presence of notary Giacomo Buzi, who, since the summer of 1595, had registered testimonies in his office for the purposes of the canonization procedure of Neri. Gallonio related his experiences as Neri's follower and assistant, and his thoughts about his late spiritual leader. He remarked that Neri was venerated in all manner of places more than six months after his death. He looked upon this as a sign of Neri's sainthood. After all, God would never allow someone to be venerated for longer than six months if the object of that veneration were not actually a saint. According to Gallonio, experts in canon law agreed on this, although some thought that God would put an end to undeserved veneration even sooner.[1] This

[1] 'Argumento della santità sua mi pare, perchè cresce incredibilmente la devotione de popoli verso lui, non solo qui in Roma, in Firenze, ma in diverse città et luoghi; et, tanto più, perchè è cosa certa, come osservano li dottori et canonisti, che non permetterebbe Iddio "ultra sex menses", et altri dicono minor tempo assai, che alcuno fosse adorato come santo, se realmente non fosse tale; et, più oltre, si sentono tuttavia et scoprono miracoli novi, non solo operati qui in Roma, per meriti del detto santo, ma fuori ancora.' Giovanni

testimony illustrates several aspects of the cult of the saints that will be dealt with in this chapter. At the end of the sixteenth century there was a legal framework that enabled the testing of the signs of sainthood as to their validity. This framework was not definitive, but was open to discussion and further elaboration. The longevity of the signs of sainthood, such as the protracted veneration of a deceased person on the part of the faithful, was an important factor in the legal framework. From 1595 the veneration of Neri was an important reason for Gallonio to involve himself with this framework.

Gallonio and the Canonization Procedure

The devotional activities in honor of the deceased Neri and the bringing together of testimony about his sainthood were not initiatives of the Congregation of the Oratory collectively, but of a few individual members and close friends of the Oratory. Gallonio played a prominent role in this. Daily commemorations of Neri's life were held in his own room, and every Friday there was a more comprehensive gathering with lighted candles on a small altar, and prayers. Those present sang the litany and listened to a reading about Neri's sainthood. More public were the services held on July 22, the date of Neri's birth, and on May 26, the date of his death. The Oratorian complex in the Vallicella was decorated on those dates, masses were celebrated, sermons were given and prayers said. Furthermore, there was a meal, at which several high-ranking prelates were always present. During the meal on the occasion of the first celebration on July 22, 1596, seated at table were, among others, Cardinal Agostino Cusano, his secretary Abbot Marcantonio Maffa, and papal judges Girolamo Pamphilj (1544–1610) and Lorenzo Bianchetti (1545–1612).[2] Each year the celebrations became more lavish. After May 26, 1598, a satisfied Gallonio reported to Cardinal Agostino Cusano, who had found himself in Ferrara in the

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Incisa della Rocchetta and Nello Vian eds., *Il primo processo per San Filippo Neri nel Codice Vaticano Latino 3798 e in altri esemplari dell'archivio dell'Oratorio di Roma* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1957–1963) II, 139 [A. Gallonio]. Gallonio himself gave testimony four times during the trial: on 7 September 1595, which continued four days later (ibid., I, 171–193, 193–197), on 18 September 1595 (ibid., I, 220–221), on 31 January 1596 (ibid., II, 46–48) and on 13 January 1597 (ibid., II, 137–139). For an overview of the proceedings of the trial (including the instruction to Giacomo Buzi to open the *processus ordinarius* on 2 August 1595): ibid., I, vii–ix.

[2] Francesco Zazzara, 'Diario delle onoranze a S. Filippo Neri dalla morte alla canonizzazione', ed. Giovanni Incisa della Rocchetta, *Quaderni dell'Oratorio* 6 (1966) 1–28 (4–5). Pamphilj and Bianchetti were *auditores* (judges) of the *Sacra Romana Rota*: see n. 21.

retinue of Clement VIII together with many other prelates, that, despite the absence of a large proportion of the papal court, the festival in the Chiesa Nuova had been a magnificent occasion.[3]

Two months after the death of Neri the first phase of the canonization process, the *processus ordinarius,* had already begun, partly owing to the involvement of Cardinal Cusano, with whom Gallonio maintained close contact. The pope had the canon Giacomo Buzi appointed as the notary who would record the testimonies.[4] Several priests of the Congregation kept aloof from these proceedings, and even refrained from making statements in the trial, which suggests that they had reservations with regard to Gallonio's energetic efforts. The initiatives towards structural veneration of Neri so soon after his death, even towards securing papal permission for this, immediately aroused opposition. When in 1596 Abbot Marcantonio Maffa hung up a lamp at Neri's grave, the Oratorian Pietro Perrachione swiftly removed it. This upset Maffa, who corresponded with the Congregation indignantly about this for some time. In the same year he and Cardinal Cusano lit a new lamp at the grave in the presence of Judge Pamphilj and the Oratorians Gallonio and Zazzara.[5]

Around this time Gallonio embarked on his treatise 'De his quae praestari possunt nondum canonizatis', in which he contended that it was not forbidden to carry out acts of devotion for someone who was regarded as a saint immediately after his or her death. Despite the reservations of some of its members, in the spring of 1596 the Oratory decided to place an altar in the deceased Neri's room, to equip the room as a chapel, and to give Gallonio the responsibility for it. He set up a group to take care of it. Its administrators were members of the intimate circle he had built up over the years: Giacomo and Pierpaolo Crescenzi, Giovanni Battista Zazzara (1579–1625), and Marcello Vitelleschi.[6]

In the autumn of 1597 Gallonio began writing the *Vita* of Neri.[7] Gallonio used the testimonies from the canonization process as a documentary base. He did everything possible to collect statements to support

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[3] ACO Vol. C.I.36 ff. 27ro–28vo.

[4] Giovanni Papa, *Le cause di canonizzazione nel primo periodo della Congregazione dei Riti (1588–1634)* (Vatican City: Urbaniana University Press, 2001) 42; Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, I, vii.

[5] Antonio Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri, l'Oratorio e la Congregazione oratoriana. Storia e spiritualità* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 1989) II, 1058–1059.

[6] Ibid., II, 983–986, 1057–1058.

[7] Zazzara, 'Diario delle onoranze', 8.

the recognition of Neri as a saint.[8] In this first phase, which lasted until 1610, evidence was given by 351 people from Rome and 56 people from outside Rome. After Gallonio's death in 1605, Francesco Zazzara took over his role.[9] There was a second phase between 1609 and 1615, in which curial legal experts and ultimately the cardinals responsible judged the testimonies collected. The efforts were successful: in a collective ceremony in 1622, Gregory XV (1554–1623, pope 1621) solemnly declared Filippo Neri a saint, together with four Spanish candidates.[10] The canonization of Neri was the occasion for the writing of a new biography. The publication of Pier Giacomo Bacci's *Vita* of Neri in 1622, which superseded Gallonios' *Vita*, marked the completion of the efforts to formalize the veneration of Neri.[11]

The objective of Gallonio's *Vita* of Neri was to further the canonization process by keeping alive the memory of Neri's virtues and merits. The two editions of the *Vita* were therefore distributed strategically among influential priests and laymen.[12] Furthermore, summaries of and excerpts from the *Vita* were included in hagiographical collections such as the lives of Tuscan saints by Silvano Razzi (1527–1611) and the Italian version of the *Flos sanctorum* by Alonso de Villegas (1533–1603).[13] In a handwritten

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[8] Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, II, 984.

[9] Papa, *Le cause di canonizzazione*, 109–110, 155; Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, III, 1902.

[10] Papa, *Le cause di canonizzazione*, 109–111, 275–286. The four Spaniards were Ignatius Loyola, Francisco Xavier, Teresa d'Ávila and Isidro Labrador.

[11] Pietro Giacomo Bacci, *Vita di San Filippo Neri Fiorentino fondatore della congregatione dell'Oratorio* (Rome: G. Mascardi, 1622). In the following decades this was republished several times. In 1645 a Latin translation followed: idem, *Vita S. Philippi Nerii Florentini Congregationis Oratorii fundatoris* (Rome: V. Mascardi, 1645).

[12] For example, in 1604 the Bishop of Trivento received a copy of the Latin edition and two copies of the Italian edition, and in the same year the Archbishop of Armenia received a copy of the Italian edition. Zazzara, 'Diario delle onoranze', 18. In 1609, after the Duke of Nevers, French ambassador to Rome, had shown his preparedness to urge the pope to arrange the swift arrangement of Neri's canonization, he received from the Congregation several copies of the *vita* of Neri. Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, III, 1902 (Cistellini does not specify which edition). Ditchfield already suggested that the distribution of *Vitae* and representations of Neri were part of a campaign to gain support for the canonization. Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 238.

[13] In 1601 the Camaldolese abbot Silvano Razzi included a summary of the Italian *Vita* of Neri in a new edition of his *vitae* of Tuscan saints. Silvano Razzi, *Delle vite de' santi, e beati toscani parte seconda. O vero supplemento di quelle che mancano nel primo libro* (Florence: Giunti, 1601), supplement to idem, *Vite de' santi, e beati toscani, de' quali insino a hoggi comunemente si ha cognizione* (Florence: Giunti, 1593). In 1607 Abbot Giacomo Crescenzi had a summary made of the Latin *Vita*, 'Copia del compendio della Vita del Beato Filippo fatto dal S.r Abbate Crescenzio mandato à Venetia à di 23. di Giugno 1607 per farlo stampare nella 4a parte del Flos Sanctorum', ACO Vol. A.IV.15 ff. 219ro–236vo, which, as the heading states, ended up in an Italian version of the *Flos sanctorum*: Alonso de

text, which seems to have been intended originally as a foreword to the *Vita Beati patris Philippi Nerii*, Gallonio states that the particulars of the lives of saints should be chronicled as soon as possible after their death. Otherwise, the information could be lost, which would be calamitous not only to their commemoration but also to their recognition by the ecclesiastical authorities.[14] The *Vita* was thus an extension of the canonization process. In 1597, Gallonio put together all the documents relating to the trial, had them copied and placed into a double walled chest, which he then had built into the masonry of the Vallicellian complex.[15] Information relevant to the trial was thus kept safely for posterity. The interconnectedness between the hagiographical narrative and the trial records reflects a more general nexus of historical documentation and legal interests which stimulated efforts to secure and manage the archives of ecclesiastical institutions in this period.[16]

In the last ten years of his life, Gallonio's industriousness as a hagiographer was dominated by the Church authorities' interference in the veneration of saints. In due course, his involvement in the regulation of the veneration of saints transcended his interest in Neri's canonization process. By 1605, shortly before his death, Gallonio had gained repute as an advisor to the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies, the department in the Roman Curia that monitored all forms of veneration within the Roman Catholic Church.[17] Even if at the outset he owed his status to

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Villegas Selvago, *Discorsi overo sermoni sopra gli evangelii di tutte le domeniche dell'anno. Ferie di quaresima, et feste principali. Quarta parte del flos sanctorum*, ed. Grazio Maria Grazi (Venice: G.A. and G. De'Franceschi, 1608).

[14] BibVal Ms. O.15 ff. 1ro–5vo. The text begins as follows: 'Christiano Lectori. De rebus à B. Philippo gestis divino scripturus auxilio non prius id aggrediar operis, quin explicem aliqua, quae putem non inutilia plerisque, accepta quidem certe ac grata omnibus futura. Haec porrò quatuor concludam capitibus quam fieri poterit brevissime; Dicam de his, qui sanctorum res gestas recens vel maxime vita functorum plus aequo perpendunt: De his, qui eas litterarum monumentis mandant. De sanctorum gratitudine erga eos qui in eiusmodi opere versantur de ipso postremo ordine quo nimirum praesens a me explicatur historia, atque ita quominus confusa erunt singula erunt omnia clariora.'

[15] 'accioché lo possiamo conservare più sicuramente, perché molti processi de santi si sono perduti, il che ha poi impedito la loro canonizzatione', Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, II, 1172 nn. 268 and 270, with quotations from letters of 9 August 1597 and 12 September 1597 from Gallonio to Antonio Talpa.

[16] Simon Ditchfield, 'What Was Sacred History? (Mostly Roman) Catholic Uses of the Christian Past after Trent' in: Katherine van Liere, Simon Ditchfield and Howard Louthan eds., *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) 72–97 (85–90).

[17] He appears on a list of advisors to the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies that was drawn up in 1604 or 1605, shortly before his death: Papa, *Le cause di canonizzazione*, 96–97. See below as to how the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies operated.

his efforts in Neri's canonization process, eventually his expertise would involve him in matters totally unrelated to it. In this period Gallonio was at work not only within but also outside the Oratory, for the papal Curia and for private parties, in order to come to grips with the legal mechanisms that were being developed.

The veneration of saints was a knotty problem for the Church, criticized by humanists and church reformers alike. The papacy canonized no one in the period 1522 to 1588 (even if less far-reaching decisions, such as the recognition of local cults, did sporadically occur in these decades).[18] In this period the Roman Catholic Church reflected on its fundamental articles of faith and practices. The Council of Trent laid down essential doctrinal points and decided to confirm the effectiveness of praying to saints.[19] It was, however, necessary to pray to the right saints. The new *Martyrologium Romanum*, with the incisive involvement of Baronio, fulfilled the need for checking the historical validity of existing saints' cults. The first editions were published between 1582 and 1589 (the edition of 1586 being the first with the annotations written largely by Baronio) and provided retrospectively the historical legitimation of the saints venerated.[20] Henceforth, the lives and legacies of deceased persons who were regarded as saints would be subjected to rigorous examination in order to prevent each and every charismatic leader or hermit from becoming the object of popular veneration. The efforts made towards the formal recognition of Neri as a saint took place exactly in the period that the Church embarked cautiously on carrying out new canonizations. The first papal canonization after the Council of Trent took place in 1588. In that year, Sixtus V canonized the Spanish lay brother Diego d'Alcalá, who had preached the faith on the Canary Isles in the fifteenth century.

Between 1587 and the 1620s the papal hierarchy systematically worked out the rules concerning the canonization process. In this period various

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[18] Simon Ditchfield, 'Tridentine worship and the cult of saints' in: Ronnie Po-chia Hsia ed., *Cambridge History of Christianity* VI *Reform and Expansion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) 201–224 (207).

[19] For the hurried treatment during the Council of the veneration of images, the cult of the saints and purgatory, subjects regarding which the twenty-fifth and last session of the Council by and large confirmed medieval doctrine: Adriano Prosperi, *Il Concilio di Trento: una introduzione storica* (Turin: Einaudi, 2001) 87.

[20] For the editions of the *Martyrologium Romanum* between 1582 and 1589: Giuseppe Antonio Guazzelli, 'Cesare Baronio e il *Martyrologium Romanum*: problemi interpretativi e linee evolutive di un rapporto diacronico' in: Massimo Firpo ed., *Nunc alia tempora, alii mores. Storici e storia in età postridentina. Atti del Convegno internazionale Torino, 24–27 settembre 2003* (Florence: Olschki, 2005) 47–89 (58–62, 77–86).

rival groupings within the Curia attempted to gain powers for themselves related to the canonization procedure. In principle, the regulation of canonization fell under the competency of the standing committee of cardinals responsible for the liturgy, the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies established in 1588 by Sixtus V. It was the task of this administrative body to judge all questions relating to the proceedings of veneration, such as the reciting of *officia* on saints' days. It also had to decide on other liturgical and ceremonial matters, such as whether or not a saint should be considered to have experienced stigmata, or whether a town governor, who was also an ecclesiastical dignitary, should precede or follow the members of the cathedral chapter in the annual procession honoring the town's patron saint.[21] It was for this institute that Gallonio worked as a writer, preferably anonymously, according to his later biographers.[22]

Not only the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies, however, but also the *Sacra Romana Rota* (the highest papal court for cases not involving orthodoxy), the Inquisition (the tribunal for blasphemy and heresy) and in some instances the Index (censorship) laid claim to competency regarding the cult of the saints.[23] Until the pontificate of Urban VIII (1568–1644,

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[21] Simon Ditchfield, '"Coping with the *beati moderni*": Canonization Procedure in the Aftermath of the Council of Trent' in: Thomas M. McCoog ed., *Ite Inflammate Omnia: Selected Historical Papers from Conferences Held at Loyola and Rome in 2006* (Roma: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2010) 413–440 (434–436); Miguel Gotor, *I beati del papa. Santità, Inquisizione e obbedienza in età moderna* (Florence: Olschki, 2002), 285–319; Niccolò del Re, *La Curia Romana. Lineamenti storici-giuridici* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1970[3] [1941]) 435–442; the examples are from summaries of decisions of the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies between 1588 and 1599 and between 1602 and 1610, in: ACCS, Decreta Sacrae Congregationis Rituum. Ab anno 1588 ad annum 1599, pp. 228–229 (conflict between the order of Franciscans and the order of Dominicans as to whether Catherina da Siena had experienced stigmata); ACCS. Decretorum Congregationis Sacrorum Rituum. Liber secundus à 1602 usque ad 1610, p. 77 (provision that the Governor of Faenza, Protonotary Apostolic, should walk behind the bishop and ahead of the canons in the procession).

[22] Giacomo Ricci, 'Breve notitia di alcuni suoi compagni' in: Pietro Giacomo Bacci, *Vita di S. Filippo Neri Fiorentino fondatore della Congregatione dell'Oratorio* (Rome: F. Tizzoni, 1672) 172; 'Havendo consecrata la sua penna erudita in far molte savie scritture per la Sacra Congregatione de'Riti in honore di diversi Santi, non permise mai, che quella vi scrivesse il suo nome, desiderando, che all'istesso passo, che promoveva la gloria de'Santi restasse oscurata la propria: se bene poi la medesima Sacra Congregatione volle, che in ogni conto sottoscrivesse il suo nome in diversi officii, che egli compose.' Giovanni Marciano, *Memorie historiche della Congregatione dell'Oratorio* (Naples: N. De Bonis, 1693–1702) I, 516.

[23] The *Sacra Romana Rota* was a court that in the course of the sixteenth century began to deal with civil actions in particular: F.E. Schneider and H. Ewers, 'Rota, Sacra Romana R.' in: *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (Freiburg i.B.: Herder, 1986[2] [1964]) IX, 62–64; Del Re, *La Curia Romana*, 243–259. The Inquisition (*Congregatio de Sancto Ufficio*) judged religious and moral cases, ibid., 89–101. The Index (*Congregatio de Indice*), established in 1571 by

pope 1623), the allocation of competencies continued to be unclear and subject to change.[24] The regulations relating to canonizations spun off a sizeable set of literature relating to the relevant procedures. The only medieval treatise that dealt systematically with the procedures of canonization dates from 1487.[25] It was not until 1601 that a new book dedicated exclusively to this subject was published: *De sanctorum canonizatione* by the Augustinian Angelo Rocca (1545–1620). Not surprisingly, Gallonio owned a copy of this book. His fellow Oratorian Francesco Bozio (1562ca.–1643) gave it to him in 1603.[26] Its author worked for the Vatican's printing establishment and under Clement VIII became papal sacristan, a member of the papal court.[27] In the decades thereafter, various publications came out containing prescriptions and jurisprudence from which more refined regulations gradually emanated.[28]

Thus, the canonization process gained a set form in the decades after 1588, but it originated from the practice that was rooted in the Middle

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Pius V in order to reduce the workload of the Inquisition, was responsible for the supervision of the orthodoxy of written material, and in particular printed material, ibid., 325–329.

[24] Ditchfield, 'Tridentine worship'; Gotor, *I beati del papa*, 285–418.

[25] This was Troilo Malvezzi, *Tractatus de sanctorum canonizatione* (Bologna: U. Rugerio, 1487), republished by Giacomo Castellani de Fara, *Tractatus de sanctorum canonizatione* (Rome: M. Silber, 1520). Another edition appeared shortly before the resumption of canonizations, in Giacomo Menochio ed., *Oceanus iuris. Tractatus universi iuris duce et auspice Gregorio XIII, pont. max., in unum congesti* (Venice: F. Ziletti, 1584) XIV, ff. 97ro–103vo. See also Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History*, 219.

[26] This copy is located in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana: S.Borr.E.III.55. On the title page is: 'p. Antonii Gallonii. Dono P. Francisci Bozzii die 7 Augusti 1603.' Francesco Bozio was the brother of Tommaso, who authored political texts and persuaded Gallonio to stay at the Oratory, see § 1.4. For Francesco Bozio, see Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, I, 223 n. 608.

[27] José Luis Guttiérez, 'Presentazione' in: Angelo Rocca, *De canonizatione Sanctorum commentarius* (Rome: Pubblicazioni Agostiniane, 2004 [repr. Rome: G. Facciotti, 1601]) 7–23 (8). For the function of the papal sacristan: M. Bierbaum, 'Familia Pontificia' in: *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (Freiburg i.B.: Herder, 1986^2 [1960]) IV, 7–8; G. Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica da S. Pietro sino ai nostri giorni* (Venice: Emiliana, 1840–1879) LX, 171–196.

[28] Romeo de Maio, 'L'ideale eroico nei processi di canonizzazione della Controriforma' in: idem ed., *Riforme e miti nella Chiesa del Cinquecento* (Naples: Guida, 1973) 257–278 (258–259). After the resumption of canonizations and the establishment of the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies the most important treatises about the procedure of canonization published in the Early Modern period were: Angelo Rocca, *De sanctorum canonizatione commentarius* (Rome: G. Facciotti, 1601), republished nine years later: *De sanctorum canonizatione commentarius* (Rome: Camera Apostolica, 1610^2); Felice Contelori, *Praxis de canonizatione sanctorum* (Lyon: L. Durand, 1634); C.F. de Matta, *Novissimus de canonizatione sanctorum tractatus* (Rome: N.A. Tinassi, 1678); Prospero Lambertini (Benedict XIV), *De servorum Dei beatificatione et beatorum canonizatione* (Bologna: Longhi, 1734–1738).

Ages. Interested parties and relatives of a candidate generally initiated the process. Local groupings—representatives of a town or city, envoys of a monarch, procurators of a religious establishment—could appeal to a deceased person's *fama sanctitatis* and officially request permission in Rome to perform a local examination of his life. In the event that the Curia granted this request, the first phase was started. The bishop and possibly other local ecclesiastical dignitaries—often together with representatives of the Roman Curia—heard witnesses. A notary recorded the statements in the *processus ordinarius*, the episcopal process. All manner of written documentation that could also be of use was collected. The resulting dossier was redrafted by the ecclesiastical authorities into a list of articles, which itemized credible and relevant proofs of virtues and miracles. On the basis of this list the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies assessed whether it was expedient to carry on with the second phase, the *processus apostolicus*, the papal process. The same list of articles determined the questions that the witnesses had to answer in this papal process. A sequence of dignitaries—judges of the *Rota*, specially appointed advisors, and the Cardinals who formally made up the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies—then condensed the documentation and judged whether the candidate satisfied the criteria for sainthood. If the verdict was favorable, there followed several consistories, sessions in which the pope decided whether he should proceed with canonization. Once all these phases had been passed through successfully—and the usual political and administrative pitfalls avoided—the pope could proceed with canonization. In a solemn ceremony he included the candidate in the host of officially recognized saints, the *catalogus sanctorum*.[29]

As the Curia elaborated this procedure, Gallonio took on several issues as advisor to the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies. His involvement in various matters that can be seen as significant moments in the earliest development of the early modern canonization procedure is apparent in his collection of hagiographical writings. One such matter must have been the stalled canonization of Chiara da Montefalco, concerning which

[29] Sofia Boesch Gajano, *La santità* (Rome: Laterza, 2005² [1999]) 80–89; for the procedure in the late Middle Ages: André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, transl. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005 [Rome: École française de Rome, 1981]) 481–483; for the procedure around 1600: Ditchfield, '"Coping with the *beati moderni*"'; Anna Benvenuti e.a., *Storia della santità nel cristianesimo occidentale* (Rome: Viella, 2005) 261–330, in particular 286–288; and in more detail: Papa, *Le cause di canonizzazione*, 39–47, 150–170, 260–290; Giuseppe dalla Torre, *Santità e diritto. Sondaggi nella storia del diritto canonico* (Turin: Giappichelli, 1999) 63–69.

Gallonio obtained medieval documentation. In 1594 Fabio Tempestivi sent a letter together with this documentation to his brother Cherubino (see § 2.3). The latter was papal chamberlain and as such a member of the *familia papalis*. Cherubino had asked his brother for information about the Augustinian nun Chiara at the request of Angelo Rocca, the papal sacristan who was himself an Augustinian.[30] That the documents ended up in Gallonio's work dossier in the Oratorian library indicates that he was involved in Rocca's effort to have an *officium* or a mass written for Chiara as part of an attempt to give her a formal place in the annual liturgy. In the event, this is what happened twenty years later: in 1614, on the orders of the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies, Roberto Bellarmino determined that the Augustine nuns of Montefalco had the right to recite an *officium proprium* in honor of their abbess Chiara.[31]

In his capacity as advisor Gallonio not only assisted his fellow Oratorian Baronio, but also Silvio Antoniano, another cardinal who was active in the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies.[32] Antoniano, a Roman by birth who from an early age excelled in rhetoric and poetry, was not formally a member of the Oratory, although the Oratorians looked upon him as one of their own.[33] Antoniano made rather extensive comments on the *officium* of the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, comments that Gallonio

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[30] 'Io in pochi giorni che mi fermai ivi dedi un'occhiata à quei libri, delli quali cavai ad verbum una relatione fatta dai Cardinali deputati al Papa, [...]; Del qual sommario ne mando hora una copia a V.S. [...] Vidi anco alcuni originali de Bolle del Papa, et de Vescovi di quel tempo dal che tutto per mia istruttione, io feci un'breve sommarietto, del quale parimente mando Copia à V.S. acciò possa mostrarle à Monsig.r R.mo Sacrista, che gli l'ha dimandate,' BibVal Ms. H.3 ff. 315ro–315vo. The transcript of the report of the cardinals to Pope John XXII (1245–1334, pope 1316) is to be found in BibVal Ms. H.3 ff. 68ro–68vo, the summaries of the papal and episcopal bulls are to be found in in BibVal Ms. H.8^{I} ff. 98ro–104vo. In the address Fabio Tempestivi calls his brother 'Cam.ro di Nro. Sig.re', BibVal Ms. H.3 f. 318ro. Cherubino Tempestivi was 'aiutante di camera' since February 1592: Klaus Jaitner, 'Der Hof Clemens' VIII. (1592–1605). Eine Prosopographie', *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 84 (2004) 137–331 (271).

[31] Papa, *Le cause di canonizzazione*, 234. For the history of the formal recognition of the sainthood of Chiara da Montefalco: Enrico Menestò ed., *Il processo di canonizzazione di Chiara da Montefalco* (Scandicci: La Nuova Italia, 1984) XLV–LXXIII; idem, 'Il processo apostolico per la canonizzazione di Chiara da Montefalco (1318–1319)' in: Daniel Bornstein and Roberto Rusconi eds., *Mistiche e devote nell'Italia tardomedievale* (Naples: Liguori, 1992) 107–127.

[32] Archivio della Congregazione delle Cause dei Santi. Decretorum Congregationis Sacrorum Rituum. Liber secundus f. 3vo.

[33] Silvio Antoniano is known as the author of a sizeable pedagogic oeuvre. Paolo Prodi, 'Antoniano, Silvio', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* III (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1961) 511–515. For the affiliation between the Oratory and Antoniano ('homo nostro, ma che non cohabita'): Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, I, 100.

wrote out.[34] Among other papers of Antoniano that Gallonio had in his possession was the request to check an *officium* that the Bishop of Gaeta had written. Antoniano wrote in the letter that he did not have access to a library, but that it was his impression that the *officium* required revision. According to the cardinal, Saint Erasmus had never been Bishop of Antioch.[35] Indeed, in the *lectiones* for Erasmus that Gallonio himself wrote out, he left out every reference to the saint as Bishop of Antioch.[36]

In the same manner Gallonio also became involved in the more consequential case of the Augustinian Juan de Sahagún (1430–1479). Around 1600 Baronio and Antoniano examined the request of the Augustinians in Salamanca to be permitted to celebrate mass and the *officium* in honor of this Spanish hermit.[37] Antoniano wrote a brief *historia* of the life of Juan de Sahagún on the basis of the legal documents, and Gallonio made a copy of it (Fig. 3a).[38] By way of a papal brief in 1601, Clement VIII gave his assent to the request of the Augustinians of Salamanca. For the time being this was the culmination of the trial, and Gallonio had a transcript of the brief in his personal archive (Fig. 3b).[39] Furthermore, he personally wrote out the volume in the archive of the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies that contained the documentation of the judicial process such as it had progressed until 1601 (Fig. 3c).[40] Two years later Clement VIII extended the veneration of Juan de Sahagún to include the entire Augustinian order.[41]

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[34] BibVal Ms. H.18 ff. 139ro–140ro.

[35] BibVal Ms. H.18 ff. 30ro–30vo. Gallonio also had in his possession a brief text by Antoniano about Caterina da Siena: BibVal Ms. H.18 f. 138ro.

[36] BibVal Ms. H.18 ff. 436ro–441vo.

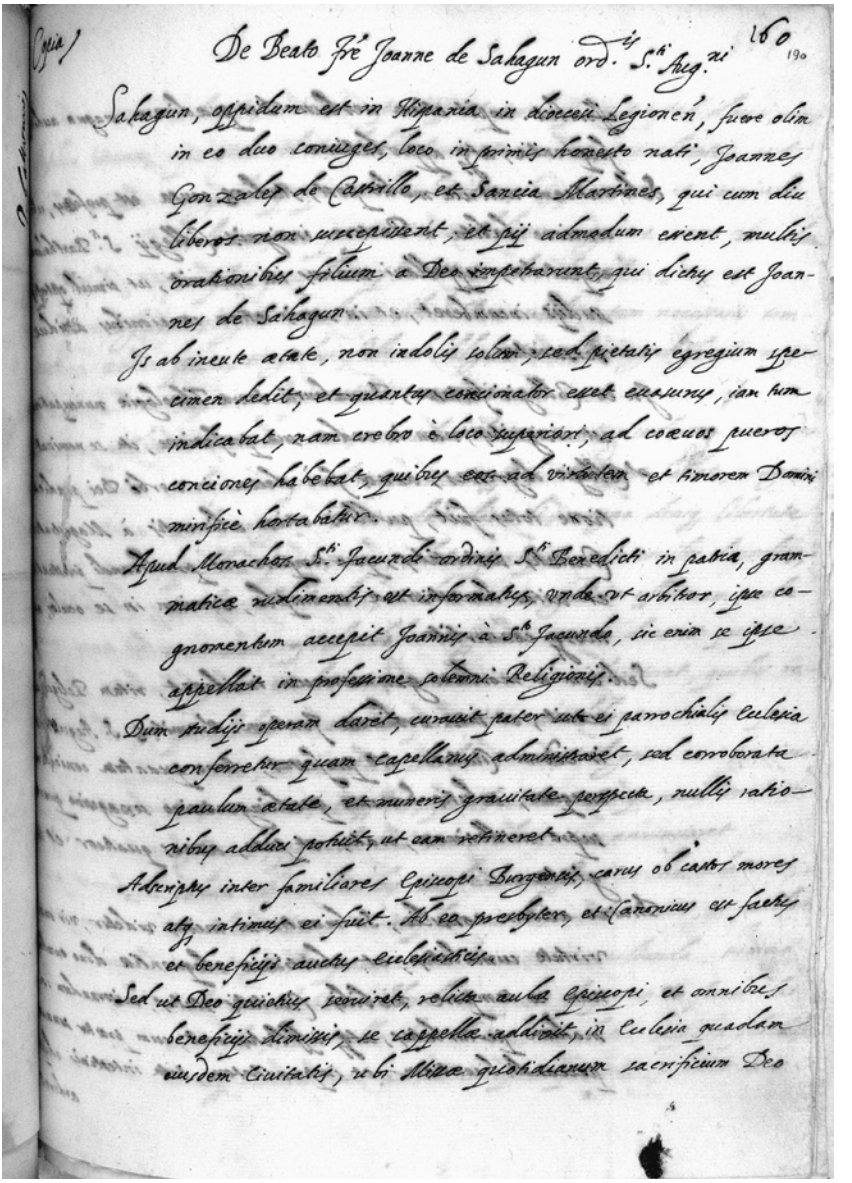
[37] Gotor, *I beati del papa*, 213–214.

[38] 'Ego Silvius tituli Sancti Salvatoris in Lauro S.R.E. presbyter Cardinalis visis actis, et scriptis mihi traditis suprascriptam historiam contexui , et me subscripsi hodie duodecima die Julii 1600 Anno Jubilaei.' BibVal Ms. H.3 ff. 190ro–195vo. In the upper left corner of the first folio is written 'Copia'.

[39] BibVal Ms. H.18 ff. 403ro–404ro. Gallonio also had in his personal archive a transcript of the statement with which two judges of the *Rota*, Girolamo Pamphilj and Giovanni Garsia Millini, confirmed the authenticity of the documents pertaining to the process, and approved of the formulations used and the manner in which testimonies had been taken: BibVal Ms. H.18 ff. 402ro–402vo.

[40] ASV, Cong. Rituum, Processus Vol. 2824. The papal brief of Clement VIII at ff. 202ro–203vo.

[41] Three sets of copies of the documents relating to the process that were brought together ca. 1600, with testimonies, and the brief of 1603, in: ASV, Cong. Rituum, Processus Vol. 2821, 2822, 2823. I have consulted the third copy, Vol. 2823. Copies of the statement of Pamphilj and Millini, and of the papal brief of 1601 opened this volume: ASV, Cong. Rituum, Processus 2823, first to third folio, inclusive (unnumbered). The trial insofar as



De Beato Fre Joanne de Sahagun ord.is S.ti Aug.ni 160
190

Sahagun, oppidum est in Hispania in diœcesi Legionen, fuere olim in eo duo coniuges, loco inprimis honesto nati, Joannes Gonzalez de Castrillo, et Sancia Martinez, qui cum diu liberos non suscepissent, et pij admodum essent, multis orationibus filium a Deo impetrarunt, qui dictus est Joannes de Sahagun.

Is ab ineunte ætate, non indolij solum, sed pietatis egregium specimen dedit, et quanto concionator esset eximius, iam hinc indicabat, nam crebro è loco superiori, ad coetus puerorum concionem habebat, quibus erat ad virtutem, et timorem Domini mirifice hortabatur.

Apud Monachos S.ti Facundi ordinis S.ti Benedicti in patria, grammatica rudimenta, et informatus, unde ut arbitror, ipse cognomentum accepit Joannis à S.to Facundo, sic enim se ipse appellat in professione solemni Religionis.

Dum studijs operam daret, cumulat pater iuris ei parochialis Ecclesia conferretur quam capellanus administraret, sed corroborata paulum ætate, et muneris gravitate perpensa, nullis rationibus adduci potuit, ut eam retineret.

Adscribitur inter familiares Episcopi Burgensis, carus ob castos mores, ac intimus ei fuit. Ab eo presbyter, et Canonicus est factus, et beneficijs auctus ecclesiasticis.

Sed ut Deo quietius seruiret, relicta aula Episcopi, et omnibus beneficijs dimissis, se capellæ addixit, in Ecclesia quadam eiusdem Ciuitatis, vbi Missæ quotidianum sacrificium Deo

Fig. 3a. *Vita* of Juan de Sahagún (first page), written by Cardinal Silvio Antoniano, transcribed by Antonio Gallonio. BibVal Ms. H.3 f. 190ro.

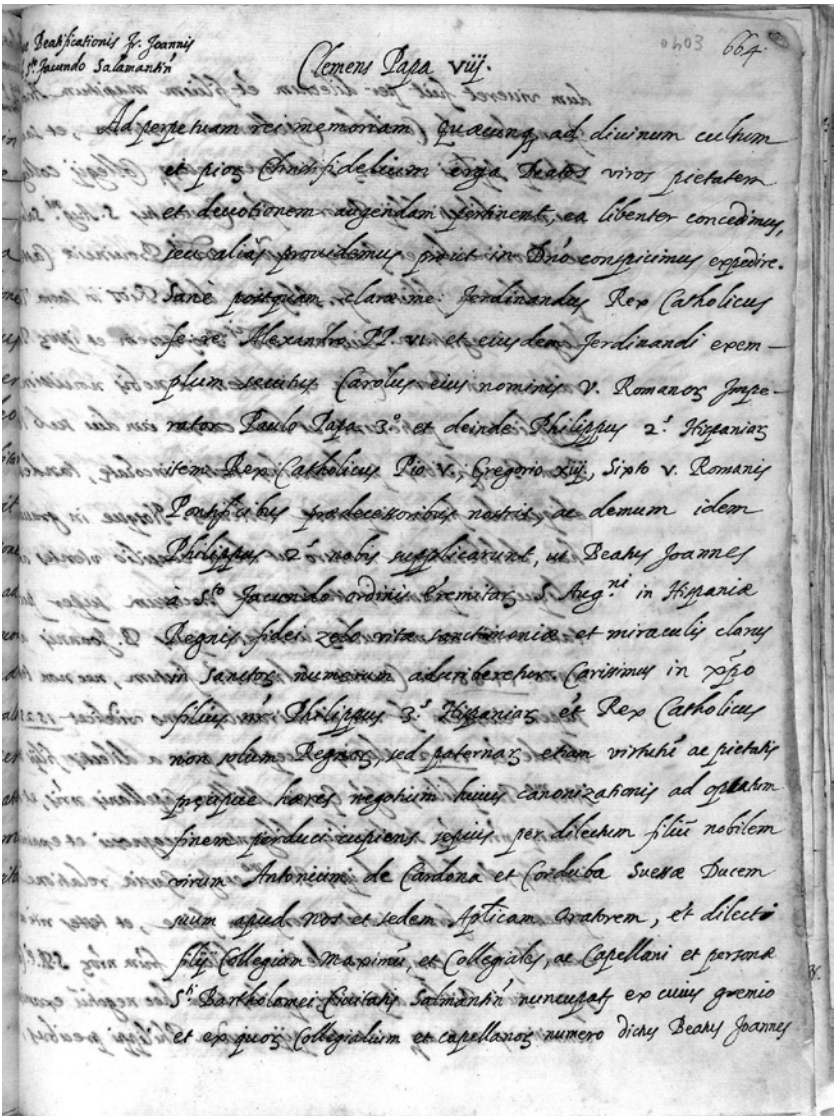
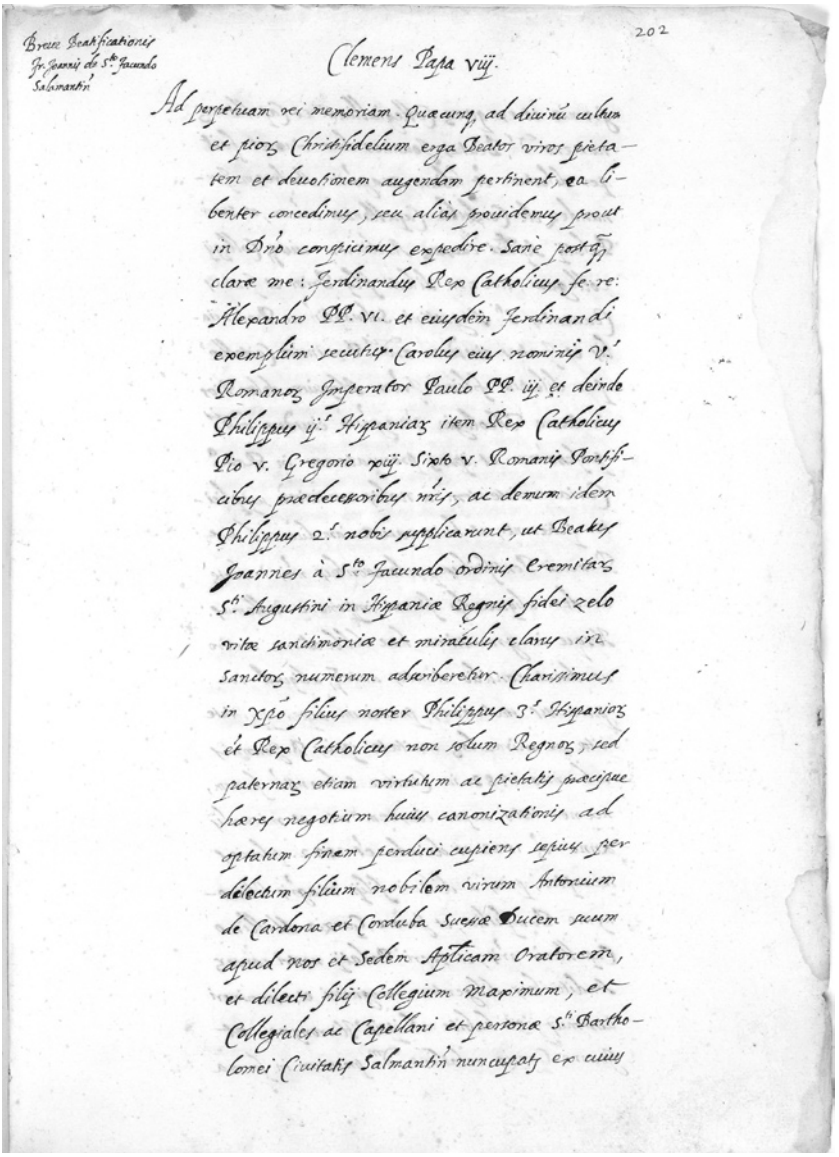

Beatificationis Jr. Joannij
S.ti Jacundo Salamantin
Clemens Papa. VIIJ.
0403 664.
Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Quamuis ad diuinum cultum
et pios Christifidelium erga Beatos viros pietatem
et deuotionem augendam pertinent, ea libenter concedimus,
et alias prouidemus, prout in Dño conspicimus expedire.
Sane postquam clare me. Ferdinandus Rex Catholicus
sub Alexandro PP. VI. et eiusdem Ferdinandi exem-
plum secutus Carolus eius nominis V. Romanor Impe-
rator Paulo Papa 3.o et deinde Philippus 2.us Hispaniar
item Rex Catholicus Pio V. Gregorio XIII. Sixto V. Romanis
Pontificibus predecessoribus nostris, ac demum idem
Philippus 2.us nobis supplicarunt, ut Beatus Joannes
a S.to Jacundo ordinis Eremitar S. Aug.ni in Hispania
Regnis fidei zelo vite sanctimonia et miraculis clarus
inter Sanctor numerum adscribi exoptem. Carissimus in Xpo
filius n.r Philippus 3.us Hispaniar et Rex Catholicus
non solum Regnor, sed paternas etiam virtutis ac pietatis
precipue hanc negotium huius canonizationis ad optatum
finem perduci cupiens, nobis per dilectum filium nobilem
virum Antonium de Cardona et Cordoba Suessa Ducem
suum apud nos et sedem Apticam Oratorem, et dilectos
filios Collegium Maximi, et Collegiales, ac Capellani et personas
S.ti Bartholomei Societatis Salamantin nuncupat ex cuius gremio
et ex pios Collegiorum et capellanor numero dicti Beatus Joannes

Fig. 3b. Brief of Clement VIII, 19 June 1601 (first page), in which he grants the Augustinians of Salamanca the right to recite the *officium* in honour of Juan de Sahagún, transcribed by Antonio Gallonio, in his own dossier in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana. BibVal Ms. H.18 f. 403ro.


Breue Beatificationis
Jo. Joannis de S.to Facundo
Salmantin.

202

Clemens Papa VIIJ.

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Quæcunq; ad diuinū cultum
et piorū Christifidelium erga Beatos viros pietatem
et deuotionem augendam pertinent, ea libenter
concedimus, seu alias prouidemus prout
in Dño conspicimus expedire. Sanè post quam
claræ me: Ferdinandus Rex Catholicus fe: re:
Alexandro PP. VI. et eiusdem Ferdinandi
exemplum secutus Carolus eius nominis V.
Romanorū Imperator Paulo PP. iij. et deinde
Philippus ij.us Hispaniarū item Rex Catholicus
Pio V. Gregorio XIIJ. Sixto V. Romanis Pontificibus
prædecessoribus nris, ac demum idem
Philippus 2.us nobis supplicarunt, ut Beatus
Joannes à S.to Facundo ordinis Eremitarū
S.ti Augustini in Hispaniæ Regnis fidei zelo
vitæ sanctimonia et miraculis clarus in
Sanctorū numerum adscriberetur. Charissimus
in Xpō filius noster Philippus 3.us Hispaniarū
et Rex Catholicus non solum Regnorū, sed
paternarū etiam virtutum ac pietatis præcipue
hæres negotium huius canonizationis ad
optatum finem perduci cupiens sepius per
dilectum filium nobilem virum Antonium
de Cardona et Corduba Sueæ Ducem suum
apud nos et Sedem Apticam Oratorem,
et dilecti filij Collegium maximum, et
Collegiales ac Capellani et personæ S.ti Bartholomei Civitatis Salmantin nuncupatæ ex eius

Fig. 3c. Brief of Clement VIII, 19 June 1601 (first page), in which he grants the Augustinians of Salamanca the right to recite the *officium* in honour of Juan de Sahagún, transcribed by Antonio Gallonio, document of the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano. ASV, Cong. Rituum, Processus Vol. 2824 f. 202ro.

This case was a landmark in the development of beatification (*beatificatio*) as a phase preceding canonization (*canonizatio*). There had been no clear distinction between the terms 'blessed' and 'sainted' in the late Middle Ages, and the granting of permission for a local celebration did not always presuppose that a universally applicable canonization would follow at a later stage. The canonization of Carlo Borromeo in 1610 was to be the last case in which the papacy did not require a preceding beatification process. Although the term 'beatification' did not yet figure as such, the brief of Clement VIII in favor of Juan de Sahagún is the first that states explicitly that a temporary, limited, local veneration was permitted, pending the proceedings of the canonization process that would lead to universal veneration.[42] This enabled the ecclesiastical authorities to keep the faithful satisfied for the time being—locally, at least—and to defer further treatment of the matter. We will see below that this issue would be very consequential for the development of the canonization process in the centuries that followed.

Canonization Procedure and Historical Documentation

Gallonio's engagement with such individual cases, which sometimes had important consequences for subsequent proceedings, was predominantly as an expert in historical documentation. Judging from Gallonio's testimony of 1597 quoted at the start of this chapter, one of the criteria for juridical recognition of sainthood was the historical durability of the cult. A long-lasting, widely shared conviction that a deceased person had been saintly was an important indication for the legitimacy of the cult. Mentioned earlier is Clement I, pope at the time of Flavia Domitilla, Nereus and Achilleus. One of his actions to which authors in the Counter-Reformation liked to draw attention was the establishment of an administrative structure that was tasked with the commemoration of the victims of the persecution of Christians. In Rome, Pope Clement I had supposedly appointed a notary and a deacon in every *rione*, who were to record, with a certain degree of ceremony, the virtues and vicissitudes of the early Christian martyrs.[43] In his technical treatise of 1601, Angelo Rocca traced back the

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it was prepared in the first half of the sixteenth century: ASV, Cong. Rituum, Processus Vol. 2827.

[42] Gotor, *I beati del papa*, 213–214, 216; Papa, *Le cause di canonizzazione*, 50, 111, 170–214, 239–240.

[43] For example Cesare Baronio, *Annales ecclesiastici* (Rome: Typographia Vaticana, 1588–1607) I, 698.

early modern institution of canonization, including the ceremonial, the depositions and the historical documentation that were part and parcel of it, to the ordinance of Clement I. The Acts of the Martyrs were thus looked upon as certificates ratified by notaries, following Clementine precedent.[44] The same applied to the *vitae, miracula* and *translationes* of the saints who had lived after the persecutions of Christians had ended.

In the sixteenth century, the past acted as a blueprint for the present. As a result, the formal recognition of the sainthood of historical persons, based on historical documentation, was a prescriptive act, which entailed the collective designation of a person from the past as a shining example from *historia sacra* and an effective intermediary with God. The historical texts about saints that Gallonio both collected and authored, were first scrutinized by the ecclesiastical institutions that were responsible for approval of the cult, and subsequently, after such approval had been granted, served as a continuing certification of the cult, much like a certificate of authenticity.

It was in this manner that at the end of the sixteenth century the ecclesiastical authorities obtained the historical documentation of the life of Raimundo de Peñafort, a thirteenth-century Dominican in Barcelona who was engaged in the codification of canon law under Innocent IV (1195ca.–1254, pope 1243). In 1587 the trial began that was to lead to his canonization. In 1601 Clement VIII pronounced the Catalan a saint. In Raimundo's trial, the *Sacra Romana Rota* still played a pivotal role. The driving force behind his canonization was the judge Francisco Peña.[45] In Raimundo's case, the documentation of the 'ancient' trial, which had been heard in medieval Catalonia, constituted an important part of the evidence.[46] Gallonio was in possession of a copy of this *processus antiquus* that he himself had written out. This is bound in his papers together with a copy of the printed act of Raimundo's canonization.[47] In all probability Gallonio assisted in the preparations for the reopening of the case. It so happened that Cardinals Cesare Baronio, Federico Borromeo and Silvio Antoniano, all three of them close to Gallonio, were added for the occasion to the original eleven Cardinals of the Congregation of Rites and

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[44] Rocca, *De canonizatione sanctorum*, 7–9.

[45] For the trial of Raimundo de Peñafort: Papa, *Le cause di canonizzazione*, 36–40, 42–48. Peña was *auditor* (judge) of the *Sacra Romana Rota*.

[46] ASV, Cong. Rituum, Processus Vol. 219 ff. 1ro–48vo; BibVal Ms. H.14 ff. 410ro–444ro.

[47] *S.D.N. D. Clementis Divina Providentia Papae Octavi decretales literae quibus Beatus Raymundus a Peñiafort* […] *Catalogum adscribitur* (Rome: Typographi Camerales, 1601) in: BibVal Ms. H.14 ff. 401ro–409vo.

Ceremonies, together with two others, in order to examine Raimundo's faith, deeds and miracles. Again Gallonio was involved in a case that created an important precedent. The canonization of Raimundo de Peñafort was the third since the resumption of canonizations in 1588, and it provided jurisprudence for the cases that followed.[48] In fact, Angelo Rocca claimed that it had been Raimundo's canonization process that had impelled him to write his book, which amounted to a first systematization of the relevant procedures.[49]

The cases that the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies took under consideration could also relate to persons from a distant past. In his dossier Gallonio had a transcript of the *officium* for the martyrs of Cardeña, two hundred Benedictine monks who were murdered in 872 in their monastery of San Pedro de Cardeña by Saracens.[50] A short book of 1594 in which the Dominican Alfonso Chacón supports the legitimacy of the veneration of the martyrs of Cardeña illustrates well that the distance in time between the historical phenomena and the current era did not detract from their juridical relevance. To avoid beginning in *medias res*, Chacón deemed it wise to describe first when Christianity had come to Spain, and to provide an overview of the persecution of Spanish Christians ever since. Chacón pays no attention to the question of what the deaths of the monks, murdered in the Carolingian period, could mean in his own era, more than seven hundred years later. Instead, he devotes a quarter of the book to the succession of martyrdoms that linked the first century of Christianity with the eighth century, in which the Benedictines met their deaths.[51] Apparently the ability to trace a phenomenon back to the time of the Apostles deserved more thorough consideration than relating the same phenomenon historically to one's own era.

This book was no disinterested exercise in devotion or erudition. In his dedication of the work to Cardinal Marcantonio Colonna (1523ca.–1597), Chacón explained that he wrote the book at the request of representatives

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48 Papa, *Le cause di canonizzazione*, 45–48; Benvenuti, *Storia della santità*, 286–287.

49 'Meum de Sanctorum Canonizatione Commentarium (Beatissime P.) opportuna Beatum Raymundum canonizandi occasione sese exhibente ac suadente conscriptum, amicorumque adhortatione in vulgus publicae commoditati prodeuntem, tui Nominis maiestati dedicatum volui', Rocca, *De sanctorum canonizatione*, +2ro (dedication to Clement VIII).

50 'In festo SS. Martyrum Stephani Abbatis et 200 socior. ord.is S. Benedicti apud Burgos in Mon.rio S. Petri de Cardegna'; in the top left-hand corner is written: 'Ex officio, quod recitandum concessit S.D.N. Clemens 8s in dioc. Burgen. dat. in Palatio Ap.co die 14 septembris 1602.' BibVal Ms. H.18 f. 331ro.

51 Alfonso Chacón, *De martyrio ducentorum monachorum S. Petri a Cardegna* (Rome: B. Bonfadini, 1594) 1–51.

of the Spanish Benedictines, seeing that the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies planned to pass judgment on the supposed martyrdom of the ninth-century monks.[52] Under Pope Sixtus V, the Archbishop of Burgos had already had forty new testimonies recorded, which gave evidence that divine providence had kept alive the remembrance of the martyrs for so many centuries.[53] In 1602 Cesare Baronio included the martyrs in a new edition of the *Martyrologium Romanum*, while he himself wrote the *officium* which Clement VIII permitted the entire Archbishopric of Burgos to recite annually in honor of the martyrs.[54] The formal approval of the veneration of these historical martyrs was the result of initiatives in which the historical documentation of the candidates played a crucial role. As with Gallonio's *Vita* of Neri, the objective of Chacón's publication about the martyrs of Cardeña was to conserve and make public the historical facts that were relevant to a formally recognized martyrdom. Baronio's *officium* was a concrete result of this. That Gallonio's collection contained this liturgical text is once again a sign of his involvement in specific cases where history, liturgy and canon law came together.

Devotion and Repression

Included in Gallonio's papers relating to the veneration of Juan de Sahagún was also a report concerning people who had not been canonized but who nevertheless were revered as saints. This document sums up a number of precedents, from which it becomes apparent that it was not unusual for mass and an *officium* to be celebrated in honor of a deceased person that had a reputation for saintliness, but had not been formally designated 'blessed' (*beatus*) or 'saint' (*sanctus*).[55] In those years, veneration

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[52] 'Cum autem haec causa in congregatione sacrorum rituum hodie vertatur, & patrocinium & tutelam exigat', ibid., A2^{vo} (dedicated to Marcantonio Colonna).

[53] Ibid., 75–76.

[54] Johannes Baptista Sollerius e.a. eds., *Acta Sanctorum. Augusti* II (Antwerp: J.A. van Gherwen, 1735) 164.

[55] BibVal Ms. H.18 ff. 401ro–401vo; ASV, Cong. Rituum, Processus Vol. 2824 ff. 201ro–201vo. The document was written by one Caesar Vintimilius de Morra whom I have not been able to identify, and whose name appears with a certain regularity in the documentation of the trial for Juan de Sahagún. It must have been drawn up between 1592 and 1601: Vintimilius de Morra addresses 'S. V.' (*Sanctitas Vestra*) who had given permission for the *officium* to be recited for Lorenzo Giustiniani, permission which was granted under Clement VIII; moreover he calls Raimundo de Peñafort 'mox canonizan.' (*mox canonizandus*), 'soon to be canonized', while Raimundo's canonization took place in 1601. See Jean Bolland and Godefroy Henschen eds., *Acta Sanctorum. Januarii* I (Antwerp: J. Meursius, 1643) 550 for the *officium* for Lorenzo Giustiniani.

of non-canonized persons was the source of major conflict. This caused Clement VIII in 1602 to temporarily suspend all the current canonization processes for candidates who had died in the previous decades. The pope observed that a few candidates for canonization were already being venerated while it was not clear whether this was permissible. Neri and Ignatius Loyola were among the high-profile candidates for whom extensive cults had developed in Rome, without involvement of the Curia, while in Milan the same thing had happened to Carlo Borromeo. Between 1602 and 1605, in the last years of his life, Gallonio was very active in special meetings that were intended to solve this problem. Gallonio sided with the champions of a tolerant manner of dealing with spontaneously blossoming cults, as did several cardinals and prelates such as Roberto Bellarmino and Cesare Baronio.[56]

Francisco Peña, who had dedicated himself to the canonization of Raimundo de Peñafort, became the major opponent of the Oratorians and the Jesuits on this issue. As judge of the *Sacra Romana Rota,* he belonged to the juridical body that in the late Middle Ages had commanded the highest authority with regard to the recognition of saints prior to the proclamation by the pope of such recognition.[57] As is apparent from the trial of Raimundo, in the sixteenth century the *Rota* continued to leave its mark on the procedure by preparing the documents which were to be presented to the Cardinals of the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies. The judges of the *Rota* could pride themselves on a long history as experts in the appraisal of the cults of the saints.

Judge Peña differentiated between the public veneration of a saint and the private veneration of an unrecognized saintly person that could take place in seclusion. He compared them with public order and a private contract. Manifest veneration, certainly in churches, such as the placing of the lamp by Marcantonio Maffa near the grave of Neri, was, according to him, a matter of public interest and public order. This required the immediate intervention of the central ecclesiastical authorities.[58]

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[56] For this issue during the pontificate of Clement VIII, in which Gallonio was involved: Ruth S. Noyes, 'On the Fringes of Center: Disputed Hagiographic Imagery and the Crisis over the *Beati Moderni* in Rome ca. 1600', *Renaissance Quarterly* 64 (2011) 800–846; Gotor, *I beati del papa*, 43–202. After this, the question was to drag on until 1621: ibid., 203–253.

[57] Papa, *Le cause di canonizzazione*, 23; Del Re, *La Curia Romana*, 435.

[58] BibVal Ms. H.14 ff. 366ro–367vo; Peña's comparison: 'Sed adhibet privatum cultum, quasi non respiciens publicum, uti privatus contractus dicitur quasi non respiciens publicam utilitatem.' Ibid., f. 367ro.

From the perspective of Peña and his allies in the special meetings between 1602 and 1605, the structure of the canonization process was comparable to a criminal trial, although in a canonization process the perspective was reversed.[59] Instead of establishing whether an accused was guilty of a contravention of the norm (criminal behavior, blasphemy or heresy), the ecclesiastical court tried to establish whether a candidate had transcended what was normal. Just like in a case concerning the contravention of legal norms, an investigation could be occasioned by the reputation of a suspect; similarly, a deceased person could become a candidate for canonization if he had the reputation of being saintly: the *fama sanctitatis*. From this perspective, until a tribunal had been brought to a satisfactory conclusion, any exhibition of public veneration was altogether wrong. The subsequent *processus ordinarius* of the canonization procedure, in which witnesses made statements at a hearing before local officials and representatives of the papal administration, was comparable to an initial interrogation in criminal proceedings, which, on the basis of generic questions, was meant to decide what the charges were. The subsequent *processus apostolicus* in the canonization procedure was analogous to the second interrogation in criminal proceedings, which took place on the basis of articles that the secular or ecclesiastical bodies had formulated as a result of the initial investigation.[60] After 1631, it became standard procedure to consult the *procurator fisci*, later officially called the *promotor fidei*, but in popular parlance known as the 'devil's advocate'. His function was the reverse of that of the defending counsel in criminal proceedings; he did not defend the candidate, but on the contrary sought procedural obstacles to canonization.[61]

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[59] Gotor, *I beati del papa*, 1–12, 156–161; Papa, *Le cause di canonizzazione*, 61. Ditchfield mentions the 'symbiosis' between those responsible for canonization and for the suppression of heresy. He points out the fact that Judge Francisco Peña was not only an advisor to the commission which, after 1600, addressed the matter of the new cults, but was also the editor of a new publication of the fourteenth-century *Directorium Inquisitorum* by Nicolaus Eymericus. Benvenuti, *Storia della santità*, 288. See also the suggestion by Giuseppe dalla Torre that the canonization procedure has a hybrid character, originating both from the judicial procedures developed for conflict control and those developed for criminal justice: Dalla Torre, *Santità e diritto*, 35, 42–43, 69–72.

[60] Giovanni Romeo, *L'inquisizione nell'Italia moderna* (Rome: Laterza, 2002) 41–45; Irene Fosi, 'Il governo della giustizia' in: Giorgio Ciucci ed., *Roma moderna* (Rome: Laterza, 2002) 115–142, (126–127); Adriano Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza: inquisitori, confessori, missionari* (Turin: Einaudi, 1996) 199–202.

[61] Papa, *Le cause di canonizzazione*, 72–75.

Gallonio preferred a procedure different from that of Judge Peña. Gallonio set great store on the collective perception of the believers to determine whether someone was a saint. At the moment that a deceased enjoyed the reputation of being a saint, it was permissible to treat that person as such—to venerate and to worship him. An investigation then served to find evidence to confirm the admissibility of the cult. Unlike Peña, who was fundamentally suspicious of lay devotion, Gallonio embraced spontaneous expressions of veneration. The Oratorian and his associates acknowledged that public veneration was prohibited prior to official ecclesiastical recognition, but they interpreted the terms 'public' and 'private' differently. 'Public veneration' for them was nothing short of 'solemn veneration by the entire, universal church'. A cult that did not arise in the name of the Church, but rather in the name of individuals or a limited group, was private and therefore always permissible, even if it were accompanied by visible expressions of veneration. Peña rejected this generous interpretation of 'public' and 'private' veneration, which threatened to allow for a proliferation of all manner of cults.

Gallonio wrote his tract 'De his quae praestari possunt nondum canonizatis' about the issue. He dedicated it to Cardinal Cusano, his friend and a supporter of a swift recognition of the sainthood of Neri. He had already completed a first version of it in 1596, probably as the result of the incident with the lamp that Abbot Maffa, secretary to Cardinal Cusano, had hung up at Neri's grave. In the tract, he divides the question of the spontaneous veneration of non-canonized persons into a number of sub-questions.[62] He wonders whether it is permissible to inter non-canonized persons in distinguished places of burial, to build a chapel dedicated to them, to venerate their relics, to use the designation 'saint' in conjunction with their names, to make and venerate images of them, to decorate their graves with votive gifts and lamps, to commemorate the anniversaries of their deaths, to canonize them immediately after their deaths, and to write their *vitae*. He concludes with the question as to whether bishops were ever empowered to canonize saints. His answer to all these questions is affirmative. The sub-questions encompass in particular the

[62] Handwritten examples are located in various places: (among others) BibVal Ms. G.91 (Rome); BibVal Ms. H.14 ff. 272ro–307vo (Rome); Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III Ms. V.H.272 (Naples); BA Ms. Z.188sup (Milan); Biblioteca Marciana Ms. Latini Cl. III Cod. CLXI (2626) (Venice); ACO Vol. A.IV.22 (Rome, uncompleted). For the dedication to Cardinal Cusano and the dating: BibVal Ms. G.91 f. 4ro. Cfr. Gotor, *I beati del papa*, 194–196; Noyes, 'On the Fringes of Center', 805.

external characteristics of the cult of the saints. His plea in favor of canonization immediately after the candidate's death shows that he had great trust in divine direction. He saw little need for the cult to be suspended until the protracted and painstaking research of the papal tribunals would reach a conclusion.[63]

Peña and several of the other members of the Curia wanted to encapsulate the cult of the saints completely in the legal procedures that they studied and brought into play in their daily work. Gallonio and his allies preferred to let the veneration of saints take its course. The foundation of this conflict lay in a difference of opinion about the organization of Christian society and about the role therein of the clergy. Peña was a firm proponent of structural distrust, and intended to keep the devotional expressions of believers under control by means of detailed procedures. The appropriate organs for these procedures were the ecclesiastical tribunals, with Peña particularly favoring a steering role for the *Sacra Romana Rota*, in which he himself was active. Gallonio, on the other hand, was convinced that a cult would, in the course of time, be legitimated by its success. If it was not in accordance with divine will, devotion would peter out by itself. From this standpoint it was the local, episcopal court that was the appropriate body to initially register and monitor venerations. At a central level, Gallonio preferred the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies to wield authority in the matter of canonizations, rather than papal tribunals such as the Inquisition and the *Rota*.

Despite Gallonio's generous attitude towards unregulated cults, he too allotted the clergy a decidedly leading role in the religious life of laymen. His action as confessor to the women in the house of Antonina and Cassandra Raida shows how he endeavored to guide the behavior and the conceptions of his confessants in practice. On the occasion of the death of Elena Massimo, Gallonio drew up a brief instruction for another of his female confessants, Olimpia Zerla, using the life of the deceased girl as an example. Elements that he emphasized, in addition to Elena's renouncement of the world, were her obedience to him and her eager acceptance of the ordeals to which he put her.[64] His clemency in the spontaneous veneration of the recently deceased can be conceived as a strategy with

[63] Ibid., 805–821.

[64] Antonio Gallonio, *Istoria di Helena de' Massimi vergine romana*, ed. Domenico Rebaudengo (Rome: Salviucci, 1857) 83–84.

which ultimately the priest was able to encroach upon the soul of the believer most effectively.

This corresponds to the interpretation that Cardinal Federico Borromeo as archbishop of Milan gave to the pastoral program of his predecessor and cousin Carlo. While Carlo Borromeo tried to bring about social discipline by means of heavy-handed manipulation of the outward behavior of the faithful, Federico Borromeo instructed the priests in his archdiocese to impart social, moral and spiritual edification to his confessants with gentle persuasion as a trusted friend but at the same time as a corrective teacher.[65] In the same key, the leniency of Baronio as against Peña's repressive views can be reconciled with, for example, the former's contribution to the establishment of the Index of banned books. Until 1603, Baronio, together with Antoniano, was responsible in the Congregation of the Index for the censure of books in the field of history and medicine.[66] The Index, three editions of which were published in the second half of the sixteenth century, was constantly subject to the differences of opinion between repressive 'centralists', such as the inquisitor Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santori (1532–1602), and moderate 'decentralists', such as Borromeo, Antoniano, and Baronio.[67] The Oratorians, who were known as an anti-authoritarian group within the Church of the Counter-Reformation, nevertheless still took part in the mechanisms that actually strengthened the Church's control of religious life. However, they chose a strategy of manipulative compliancy rather than one of harsh confrontation.

The conflict between the proponents of a flexible attitude with regard to spontaneously burgeoning cults and the proponents of rigid control from within the central judicial bodies was to continue until after Gallonio's death. Ultimately, his position would not prevail. The three meetings held between 1602 and 1605, in which cardinals, senior representatives of clerical orders, and experts, including Gallonio, were called upon to expound their views, did not resolve the issue. In the end it was Urban VIII who would establish definitive rules. Under this pope, decrees were promulgated between 1625 and 1642 that stipulated that every expression of a

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[65] Wietse de Boer, *The Conquest of the Soul: Confession, Discipline, and Public Order in Counter-Reformation Milan* (Leiden: Brill, 2001 [i.e. 2000]) 126–154.

[66] Gigliola Fragnito, 'Central and peripheral organization' in: idem ed., *Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) 13–49 (45); Peter Godman, *The Saint as Censor* (Leiden: Brill, 2000) 68–80 and 158–159.

[67] Gigliola Fragnito, *Proibito capire. La Chiesa e il volgare nella prima età moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2005) 27–80; Saverio Ricci, *Il sommo inquisitore. Giulio Antonio Santori tra autobiografia e storia (1532–1602)* (Rome: Salerno, 2002) 380–386.

new veneration (images, hagiographical texts, exceptional burial place, etc.) had to be put before the Inquisition, that a canonization process could be embarked upon only after the Inquisition had established that unauthorized veneration had not yet occurred, and that a beatification or canonization could take place no sooner than fifty years after the death of the candidate. All in all, this meant that new saints' cults could only gain the formal approval of the Curia after the greatest possible amount of effort and delay. The 'centralists' defeated the 'decentralists', a victory from the standpoint of Peña, although the judges of the *Rota*, to which he belonged, lost responsibilities to the Inquisition.[68]

The hagiographical texts that Gallonio collected and wrote about saints were relevant to the judicial procedures for the judgment of local and universal proceedings concerning the veneration of saints and for the preparations for canonizations. Such texts served the cult of the saints and as a result had immediate influence on the 'public interest' of the community of the Church. In his work, Gallonio became involved in the conflict surrounding the demarcation of this public interest and the question of the extent to which the clergy controlled it. Should the emphasis lie on the priesthood as an authoritative professional group with specialized knowledge and rational procedures, the successors to the notaries of Clement I? Or did the heritage of the pope entail the need for the priesthood to guide the laity in their vain worldly ambitions in order, gently but firmly, to redirect their orientation towards the hereafter, as Nereus and Achilleus had succeeded in doing with Flavia Domitilla? Gallonio inclined towards the latter view, which however, after his death, would for a long time be overshadowed by the dominance of the ecclesiastical tribunals.

3.2 *Confessors*

Both in the trial of Neri and in the issue of spontaneous venerations, it appears that Gallonio found discerning the positive signs of sainthood to be the most important aspect of the judicial treatment of the cult of the saints. He did not reflect upon the idea of the possibility of feigned saintliness, inspired by the devil, which misled the faithful and led them astray

[68] Miguel Gotor, *Chiesa e santità nell'Italia moderna* (Rome: Laterza, 2004) 79–89; idem, *I beati del papa*, 148–215; Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History*, 212–269.

from the Church.[69] For him, the reputation of sanctity was a given; it was then the task of the priesthood to examine carefully whether the signs that God had revealed to mankind were such that a formal recognition of sainthood was legally the appropriate consequence. In the legal proceedings relating to the canonization of *servi Dei*, the competent authorities therefore had to collect testimonies about the life history of the candidate and about the 'signs' of sanctity.

Virtues and Miracles in the Canonization Procedure

Even if Gallonio did not share the legalism of magistrates such as Peña, he was sufficiently pragmatic to work fully within the prevailing judicial criteria for judging the signs of saintliness. The candidate's life had to be reconstructed through documentary research and the testimonies of witnesses. Experts assessed whether his deeds were exceptional to a decisive degree.[70] In part these deeds were marks of almost unparalleled virtue, for which, between 1588 and 1624, the expression 'heroic virtue' became the accepted term in jurisprudence.[71] In part they were miracles, such as miraculous healings and a wondrous intactness of the candidate's body, despite neglect of his bodily health. If both conditions, heroic virtue and miracles of divine origin, were satisfied, then one could indeed speak of a saint, a confessor of the faith.

The testimony was the principal source of legal evidence. A report by an eyewitness carried the most weight, and preferably several witnesses confirmed the phenomena. Even expert witnesses such as theologians and physicians often judged whether a phenomenon had actually been a miracle on the basis of verbal testimonies, rather than on direct observation.[72] In his *Vita* of Neri, a text closely related to the legal procedure, Gallonio alludes explicitly to his dependence on witness statements on every page. The account is a succession of episodes in which the author states in the margins which testimonies confirmed each story. A number of miracles that, according to Gallonio, Neri had performed

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[69] For this issue: Adelisa Malena, *L'eresia dei perfetti: inquisizione romana ed esperienze mistiche nei seicento italiano* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2003); Gabriella Zarri ed., *Finzione e santità tra medioevo ed età moderna* (Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1991).

[70] Gotor, *Chiesa e santità*, 40, 43; Papa, *Le cause di canonizzazione*, 82–83.

[71] Ibid., 165–170.

[72] Fernando Vidal, 'Miracles, Science, and Testimony in Post-Tridentine Saint-Making', *Science in Context* 20 (2007) 481–508 (486–487). See also the proceedings relating to the postmortem examination of Filippo Neri further on in this section and in chapter 4.

in 1576, provide a good illustration of this. Several witnesses had related that, during the construction of the Chiesa Nuova, Neri had predicted—correctly—that a roof would collapse. The young Giovanni Battista Cresci himself testified about the healing of the unbearable headache he had suffered. That Neri, with a prophetic glance, had ensured that four Oratorians returned posthaste from Milan to Rome, just before the 1576 plague broke out in the Lombard capital, Cardinal Francesco Maria Tarugi, among others, had stated under oath. Together, these three episodes illustrate the most important factors that determined the strength of witness evidence: agreement of as many witnesses as possible, an eyewitness account, and a statement made by an authoritative dignitary. Gallonio thus made sure that the facts of these events were beyond any doubt.[73]

In the trial of Neri, continuous attention was paid to miraculous incidents, and to the way in which these could be distinguished from everyday happenings. Gallonio actively helped in obtaining depositions concerning miracles. His reaction to the first written testimony that Federico Borromeo sent from Milan shows that for him the report of wondrous occurrences was a technical matter, requiring polishing up. Gallonio asked the cardinal to accentuate certain aspects of his testimony a little. He wanted Borromeo to include in his statement that Neri had heard angels singing at the moment the young girl Elena Massimo died, that Neri had perceived Carlo Borromeo's face as an angel, and that Neri had had a vision of Mary. However, Gallonio only wanted the cardinal to mention the vision of Mary if he was able to remember it well, especially the day on which it occurred, otherwise, he had better keep it to himself.[74]

It is a common idea that virtue became the dominant element in the veneration of saints in the early modern period. After the Middle Ages the concept of a saint became less that of a supernatural power by which God revealed his omnipotence to the world, and more that of a champion of virtue by which God taught mankind. What counted in the early modern

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[73] 'Questa cosa è in processo detta da piu testimoni', 'Egli medesimo in processo ciò testifica', 'Questa cosa testifica in processo con giuramento France. Mar. Car. Tar. la qual cosa altri anco confermano', Antonio Gallonio, *Vita del beato padre Filippo Neri fiorentino fondatore della Congregatione dell'Oratorio* (Rome: L. Zannetti, 1601) 140, 141, 142, 144.

[74] 'Quanto alle cose che mi pare che V.S. Ill.ma potrebbe aggiungere sono gli Angeli che il santo Padre senti cantare nella morte di Helena vergine […]. Del viso Angelico dell'Ill.mo s.r Card. Borromeo santa memoria […] La visione della Madonna se però ella se ne ricorda bene, altrimente la lasci di dire, […], a qual di si volendo cosi il S.re, che la Madonna realmente l'era apparsa, se V.S. Ill.ma la sa bene, la potra dire, altrimente si prega che voglia tacere.' BA Ms. G.173inf ff. 103ro–104ro.

age was the heroic extent to which a saint was pious, humble and obedient: in other words, an example to the faithful.[75] The new saints, from the last decades of the sixteenth century, fulfilled a limited number of profiles. The saints were often male, aristocratic and clerics, such as bishops, missionaries or founders of orders, and charismatic, self-sacrificing and obedient to their superiors.[76] In this way sainthood, together with confession and frequent communion, became part of the broad strategy with which the Church endeavored to influence the thoughts and behavior of the faithful.[77]

Yet a modern conception of sanctity did not entirely replace the medieval notion within a half century. On the one hand, from as early as the thirteenth century the Church already interfered to a great extent with the conduct and devotion of the laity. The partial transformation of a saint from being a heavenly power to a pedagogic model accordingly commenced in the late Middle Ages. The term *heroic virtue* (*virtus heroica*) was already current from the fourteenth century in relation to saints.[78]

On the other hand, reports of miracles always remained linked with sanctity, not as withered formulas surviving from the Middle Ages, but as occurrences that inspired hope and awe in daily life, and as signs that were meticulously observed by the institutions that determined which expressions of devotion were permissible. In hagiographical literature, written for the greater part by priests, miracles continued to be a major feature. If Laurentius Surius in the preface of *De probatis sanctorum historiis* defines the function of a saint as that of a role model that the faithful should emulate in their own lives, the saints' lives that follow nonetheless abound with miraculous events that the faithful could in no way imitate. Also in the collected texts of the *Acta Sanctorum*, which came into being

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[75] Dalla Torre, *Santità e diritto*, 46–49; John Bossy, *Christianity in the West 1400–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985) 11–12, 96–97; Jean Delumeau, *Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire: a New View of the Counter-Reformation*, transl. Jeremy Moiser (London: Burns and Oates, 1977 [Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1971]), 43–60; De Maio, 'L'ideale eroico', 257–258, 260–275.

[76] Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540–1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 127–131, 140–143; Jean-Michel Sallmann, *Naples et ses saints à l'âge baroque (1540–1750)* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1994) 121–176; Peter Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy. Essays on Perception and Communication* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) 48–62.

[77] De Boer, *The Conquest of the Soul*, 3–41; Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe 1550–1750* (London: Routledge, 1989) 1–9; Bossy, *Christianity in the West*, 96–97.

[78] Dalla Torre, *Santità e diritto*, 47–48; Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 507–510, 513–526; R.N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215–c. 1515* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 25–92, 235–256.

in the seventeenth century, the principle that miracles were marks of sainthood was not questioned.[79]

Accordingly, the supernatural aspect of the cult of the saints lost none of its importance in the canonization process. The supernatural powers of a candidate were an important indicator of his saintliness.[80] While it is true that miracles were themselves not the essence of saintliness as, for example, Rocca emphasized in his work about the canonization procedure, as signs they were so important that he devoted a third to a half of the book to them.[81] Thus, several chapters of Rocca's treatise discuss the manner in which demons, with their superhuman speed and cunning, continually endeavor to deceive the senses, and how such illusions must be carefully distinguished from true miracles performed by God.[82] Miracles were legally valid evidence of sanctity when a sufficient number of witnesses confirmed one another's description of them, when there was no natural explanation for them and when they did not appear to have a diabolical cause.[83] Prospero Lambertini (1675–1758, pope Benedict XIV from 1740) was to explain this in detail in a voluminous codification of the canonization process.[84] Even in the 1960s the Fransiscan Francesco Antonelli wrote that the miracle has greater 'theological momentum' than virtue as evidence of sanctity.[85]

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[79] Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History*, 120–126; Sofia Boesch Gajano, 'Dai leggendari medioevali agli *Acta Sanctorum*', *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* 21 (1985) 219–244 (219); Hildegard Hebenstreit-Wilfert, *Wunder und Legende. Studien zu Leben und Werk von Laurentius Surius (1522–1578), insbesondere zu seiner Sammlung "De probatis Sanctorum historiis"* (Tübingen: Köhler, 1975) 55–57, 83–84.

[80] Giulio Sodano, 'Miracoli e canonizzazione. Processi napoletani tra XVI e XVIII secolo' in: Sofia Boesch Gajano and Marilena Modica eds., *Miracoli. Dai segni alla storia* (Rome: Viella, 1999) 171–187 (171–172, 176–178); Angelo Turchini, *La fabbrica di un santo: il processo di canonizzazione di Carlo Borromeo e la controriforma* (Casale Monferrato: Marietti, 1984) 71–72.

[81] 'ea [i.e. sanctity] tamen miraculis splendidius comprobatur, ac demonstratretur, dummodo in eis veri miraculi conditiones non desiderentur.' Rocca, *De sanctorum canonizatione*, 1, 15; in this work 22 of the 42 chapters (52 out of 119 pages) are dedicated to the assessment of miracles.

[82] Rocca, *De sanctorum canonizatione*, 19–42. Cfr. Vidal, 'Miracles, science, and testimony', 501; Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History*, 214–215.

[83] Rocca, *De canonizatione Sanctorum*, 15–46; this criterion had already been described succintly in the publication by Malvezzi, *Tractatus de sanctorum canonizatione*, as included in Menochio, *Oceanus iuris*, ff. 97ro–103vo (f. 100vo).

[84] Vidal, 'Miracles, science, and testimony', 482–483, 485–486.

[85] 'Et in hoc sensu, sanctitatis probatio per miracula, maiore momento theologico gaudet, quam probatio eiusdem per virtutes.' Francesco Antonelli, *De inquisitione medico-legali super miraculis in causis beatificationis et canonizationis* (Rome: Pontificium Athenaeum Antonianum, 1962) 3.

The judges involved in the practice of the canonization process discussed miracles exhaustively. This is apparent from the trial of Raimundo de Peñafort, in which we saw Gallonio involved, collecting historical documentation. In 1597 the judges of the *Sacra Romana Rota* deliberated on the Raimundo case on a number of occasions. Six of the eleven discussions related to the legal validity of the proceedings to date, one to Raimundo's pious conduct during his life and four to the miracles that had occurred through his intercession. The result of all this was the report that the Cardinals of the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies pored over in 1599 in the presence of Borromeo, Baronio and Antoniano, which eventually led to his canonization.[86]

The miracle as juridical evidence was prone to the same paradox that affected hagiography as a genre of history writing (see chapter 2). On the one hand miracles had to be comparable with events in any other canonization process or hagiographical text from any epoch so as to stress that the candidate displayed the eternally recurring signs of *historia sacra*. On the other hand, witnesses had to present miracles in their depositions as unique events that took place at a circumscribed time and place, in order to make their factuality more plausible. Witnesses had to relate hagiographical *topoi* as if they were fresh experiences. In 1595 and 1596, for instance, eight inhabitants of Catalonia testified to the wonderful aroma that emanated from the tomb of Raimundo in the church of Santa Caterina in Barcelona.[87] This was one of the eleven miracles that the judges of the *Rota* finally selected as legally valid evidence in support of the canonization of Raimundo. The 'odor of sanctity' is a cliché, and the observation of the pleasant fragrance of the body of the deceased is a stereotype.[88] Nevertheless, the reports of the proceedings do not create the impression of an obligatory formula but of a carefully recorded observation.

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[86] Francisco Peña, *Vita S. Raymundi de Peniafort* (Rome: N. Muzi, 1601) 280–286 (the third section of this book contains a report of the trial proceedings). See also for this trial Papa, *Le cause di canonizzazione*, 42–48.

[87] ASV, Cong. Rituum, Processus Vol. 220 ff. 321vo–326ro.

[88] Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 427–430. The motif of the pleasant aroma of the bodies of presumed saints remained current in the early modern period: Christian Renoux, 'De l'Extase à l'autel. Sainteté, mystique et mort dans l'Italie baroque', *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 215 (1998) 91–116 (102). For the early modern conviction that the bodies of saints did not fall into decomposition, see also Piero Camporesi, *The Anatomy of the Senses. Natural Symbols in Medieval and Early Modern Italy*, transl. Allan Cameron (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994 [Milan: Garzanti, 1985]) 143.

For example, the first of the eight witnesses, one Luis de Claramunt, a high-ranking figure in the Spanish monarchy, related that in inhaling the wonderful aroma from Raimundo's tomb he regained his sense of smell, which he had lost six years previously as the result of an illness. When he told members of his family that through the intercession of Raimundo he could smell again, his sister-in-law snuffed a candle, whereupon he immediately noticed the stench of the candle smoke.[89] Claramunt thus presented the recovery of his sense of smell due to the aroma of the relics as an empirically tested conclusion. A year later, in their discussion of the miracle of the fragrant body of Raimundo, the judges of the *Rota* referred in particular to this testimony.[90] The case of Raimundo was to be of major influence in subsequent canonization procedures, and this way of reporting and judging miracles, as both genuine and extraordinary, would remain the standard.

The arguments put forward by Gallonio in his polemic with Peña were also derived from the conception of the saint as a miracle worker, not the saint as a moral leader. Gallonio referred continually to spontaneously arising venerations that had already been sanctioned. He consistently presented these venerations as rituals that were aimed at obtaining miraculous favors. When, in his 'De his quae praestari possunt nondum canonizatis', Gallonio poses the general question as to whether it is permissible to venerate uncanonized saints, his central reference is a passage from the bull with which Sixtus V had ratified the canonization of Diego d'Alcalá in 1588. In this, the pope commends King Henry IV of Castille (1425–1474, king 1454), who had erected a chapel for Diego only two weeks

89 'Et dixit, quod cum ipse Testis anno 1580 ex gravi morbo Gerundae (ubi Vicarius Regius tunc erat) remansisset tabidus ferè sine visu, et sine olfactu omnino […]. Numquam tamen olfactum recuperare potuit usque ad illud tempus, quo sepulchrum dicti B. Raymundi apertum fuit. […] At protinùs atque Sepulchrum dicti B. Raymundi apertum fuit, persensit ipse Testis odorem suavissimum, et […] intra se cogitavit, numquid illud beneficium dicti B. Raymundi intercessione […] collatum a Deo esset, an potius olfactus sibi esset restitutus. Tunc […] matrem, et uxorem fratris sui alloquutus dixit, se beneficio dicti B. Raymundi olfactum recuperasse. Uxor vero fratris a tergo, ipso Testis ignorante, ut rei experimentum sumeret, candelam extinxit, et statim ipse deponens fumum candel[ae] male olentis persensit, […]. Quae omnia intercessione dicti B. Raymundi se consequutum arbitratur, cum nulla prorsus ante apertionem dicti Sepulchri per sex annos medicamenta sumpserit ad olfactum recuperandum', ASV, Cong. Rituum, Processus Vol. 220 ff. 321vo–322ro.

90 'Postremò, octavum miraculum de odore fragranti, ex monumento Beati viri prodeunte, quem, cùm sepulchrum aperitur, multi testes senserunt, & inter caeteros unus, qui sensum olfactus, quo multis annis caruerat, recuperaverit.' Peña, *Vita S. Raymundi*, 285. Peña describes the miracle of Luis de Claramunt extensively: ibid., 172–174.

after the latter's death. The reason for this was that, through the intercession of Diego, the king and his daughter were said to have been cured of an illness. In the following decades, the chapel in which the king had had the body of Diego d'Alcalá placed had attracted visitors from far and wide. These people had entreated the help of the lay brother, held vigils and left gifts.[91] Gallonio put forward the initiatives of both the king and the pilgrims first and foremost as a mark of honor to a powerful intercessor between the people and God, concentrating on the continued miraculous workings of saints in this world rather than their exemplary virtue.

Both Gallonio's reflection on the veneration of recently deceased candidates and his efforts in the specific trial of Neri show that he emphasized time and again the external, perceptible signs of sanctity. In his 'De his quae praestari possunt nondum canonizatis', Gallonio tellingly cites Giovanni Francesco Pavini, a jurist who had presented Innocent VIII (1432–1492, pope 1484) with advice concerning the papal recognition of the sanctity of Leopold of Austria; this recognition was warranted in view of Leopold's virtues, 'which the Creator of all things had confirmed by means of miracles'.[92] The virtues that a saint embodied—faith, charity, humility, obedience and self-abandonment—required a divine guarantee. This guarantee was provided by miracles. These were the signs of sanctity that Gallonio deemed it the task of the clergy to record and weigh.

The Probative Value of Ascesis

God revealed the special state of grace of his saints by means of miracles. Frequently this happened in the form of the miraculous healing of others, but often also by wondrous occurrences in the bodies of the saints themselves. Saints did not have to experience physical violence for the sake of their faith; if they voluntarily bore physical discomfort this could well be a sign of their divine election. The perfect servant of God was recognizable as such on account of the fact that his earthly body displayed the ultimate perfection of the Resurrection. Virtue and the miracle came together in ascesis: the abandonment of earthly pleasures and physical well-being in

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[91] BibVal Ms. H.14 ff. 274vo–275ro.

[92] 'ab omnibus sanctus vocabatur, ait enim: Iam virtutes ipsius Leopoldi, quas creator omnium etiam miraculis comprobavit, ut à Dei Vicario, qui solus in terris es, ascribere in numero sanctorum iure, meritoque exposcunt, expectantque.' BibVal Ms. H.14 ff. 277ro. For the canonization of Leopold of Austria: Ronald C. Finucane, *Contested canonizations: the last medieval saints, 1482–1523* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2011) 71–116.

favor of spiritual development was a virtue, while the fact that a saint's body remained intact, even after death, and indeed was pleasant to behold and to smell, was a miracle.[93]

From the inquisitorial perspective of the canonization procedure, on which, for example, Peña put so much emphasis, ascesis was a delicate matter. The devil could urge someone to pose as a saint by fasting, holding vigils, and self-chastisement. Active self-mutilation and self-mortification could earn the wonder of onlookers and followers, but could also arouse the mistrust of ecclesiastical authorities. In such a case a legal procedure, different from the canonization process, could be set in motion. This happened in the case of the Neapolitan mystic Orsola Benincasa (1547–1618). After her death she would gain a general reputation of sainthood, but during her life she aroused suspicion of simulated saintliness due to her visions and ecstasies. In 1582 she had to appear before the Inquisition in Rome for investigation. One of the quarters in which she stayed during her time in Rome was in the house of the Raida sisters, the community of young women for whom Gallonio was confessor. A specially assembled tribunal of respected priests questioned her. Neri was a member of this group, in which the inquisitor Santori also served. Benincasa had to undress and allow herself to be shaved completely so that the assembled men could inspect her for marks of the devil. She was exculpated. Incidentally, after the tribunal Benincasa maintained contact with Neri, in which she kept him informed of her physical condition, and he gave her advice on the subject. The ecstasies that she underwent caused her physical discomfort and Neri continued to observe her, as if he were her own confessor. In her case the judgment was favorable and in 1793 the Church was to recognize her as a 'Venerable' (the first step on the way to canonization). The dividing line between holiness and witchcraft was thin, and this difference was thought to be inscribed on the body.[94]

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[93] Malena, *L'eresia dei perfetti*; Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 1–58; Camporesi, *The Anatomy of the Senses*, 149–151; Francesco Santi, 'Un nome di persona al corpo e la massa dei corpi gloriosi', *Micrologus* 1 (1993) 273–300 (273–276, 298); Arnold Angenendt, 'Corpus incorruptum. Eine Leitidee der mittelalterlichen Reliquienverehrung', *Saeculum* 42 (1991) 320–348 (336–337, 342–346); Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: the Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Rudolph M. Bell, *Holy Anorexia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985).

[94] For Benincasa's continued consultation of Neri, e.g.: 'appresso la Reverentia vostra quale sape in bona part. dicta mia infirmita [...] ho voluto lassar darti haviso da poy venuta da roma dicta mia Infirmita è assai piu augmentata tanto de voce come de ogni altro. ho exequito l'ordine me dede abocca et per lettera. Ed obedito ad quanto dal patre

The importance of the body as evidence of divine perfection also comes up in the discussions about the spontaneous veneration of recently deceased persons. Setting up a special place where the body of the deceased could be visited was a powerful instrument in maintaining veneration.[95] The first question that Gallonio discusses in 'De his quae praestari possunt nondum canonizatis' is the interment of deceased persons who had the reputation of saintliness. The question was whether it was permissible to give someone with such a reputation a clearly marked, distinct burial place immediately after his death. Gallonio states that this was not only permissible, it was necessary. The body of the venerated person had to be distinguishable from the other people buried nearby. This was the case with Antonino Pierozzi, Archbishop of Florence (1389–1459), who in 1523 was the penultimate saint to be canonized by the pope prior to the Council of Trent. As Gallonio put it, many had been able to observe that his body, which had been given its own, clearly marked final resting place in the convent of San Marco, was still intact long after his death, during its *translatio* in 1589. It would have been difficult to identify the intact body as that of Antonino if he had been buried in the same place where other bishops or Dominicans also lay.[96]

The canonization process, a legal case that did not result in the conviction of a criminal or a blasphemer but in the canonization of a sainted person, could be accompanied by a postmortem examination, just like a criminal trial. Since the fourteenth century, parallel to the first dissections of convicted criminals in university education, postmortems had been carried out on persons who had the reputation of being holy. A celebrated case is that of Chiara da Montefalco, documentation of whose canonization process Gallonio had in his dossier. Amazing items were discovered

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confessore datome dal superiore me è stato ordinato, che dala septimana santa, me ritrovo calata dala montagna e qui nel burgo deli virgini', BibVal Ms. O.15 f. 66ro. See for this case David Gentilcore, *Healers and Healing in Early Modern Italy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998) 168; Silvana Seidel Menchi, 'Benincasa, Orsola' in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* VIII (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1966) 527–530 (528–529). See also Dalla Torre, *Santità e diritto*, 106–107; Zarri, *Finzione e santità*. Benincasa's sojourn in the house where Antonina and Cassandra Raida led their community of young women: Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, I, 330–331 [Varese].

95 BibVal Ms. H.14 ff. 274vo–275ro.

96 BibVal Ms. H.14 ff. 272ro–272vo. By initiating the canonization process of Saint Antonino, Pope Leo X (1475–1521, pope 1513), a member of the Medici family, attempted to effect a rapprochement between his family and the Florentine Dominicans of San Marco, while weakening the persistent legacy of Girolamo Savonarola. Finucane, *Contested canonizations*, 167–206; Gotor, *Chiesa e santità*, 21.

in her body after her death. Her heart was said to have contained miniature examples of the instruments with which Jesus Christ was tortured (the cross, the column, the scourge, the spear, and the sponge), while three identical gallstones, purportedly representing the Holy Trinity, were found in her gallbladder. Among Gallonio's papers was a summary of the 1318 proceedings stating that the signs found in her heart and gallbladder were prominent among the miracles that proved Chiara's saintliness. Her harsh way of life in the service of God had revealed itself literally in the anatomy of her heart and intestines.[97]

Within the framework of medical education, the dissection of executed criminals or deceased strangers had both an epistemological and moral function. In a lesson given by a teacher to his students, behind closed doors, the dissection was in the first place a demonstration of anatomical knowledge. When dissection took place in public, with an audience that paid to view the spectacle from a distance, one could hardly speak of the transfer of knowledge. What occurred in such an instance was a spectacle of the power of society performed on the body of the outsider, the criminal. Depending on the context in which the dismemberment of the body of a convict took place, the emphasis was thus either on the transfer of knowledge, or on the display of social order.[98]

The same applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to the dissection of the body of the saint. Analogous to the dissection of the criminal's body, it served either the acquisition of knowledge about the state of sanctity, or the celebration

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[97] Katherine Park, *Secrets of Women. Gender, Generation, and the Origins of Human Dissection* (New York: Zone Books, 2006) 39–78; idem, 'The criminal and the saintly body: autopsy and dissection in Renaissance Italy', *Renaissance Quarterly* 47 (1994) 1–33; Piero Camporesi, *La carne impassibile. Salvezza e salute fra Medioevo e Controriforma* (Milan: Il saggiatore, 1983) 5–9. This *summarium* appears in Gallonio's papers: 'Cumque eum delatum esset de sanctitate, et de miraculis tam in Vita, quam in Morte dicte Virginis, et praecipue de signis et Misteriis Dominicae passionis, ac de tribus ineffabilibus pilis in eius felle repertis parum cre[dul]us immo suspicans de aliqua fictione ad Monasterium cum indignatione accessit, ul[tra] diligenter inquirens, ac propriis oculis unà cum pluribus a[liis] dicta signa, et Misteria perspiciens, et manibus pertractans vera esse comperit. [...] Cum vero ulta [*sic*] notae sanctitatis, et Miracula in Vita facta et praecipue sacrorum Dominicae passionis signorum, et mirabilium Globorum, etiam post mortem frequentius nova, ac notoria miracula Deus Omnipotens meritis B. Clarae operaretur vehementius commota est universa Provincia.' BibVal Ms. H.8[I] f. 98[vo].

[98] Florike Egmond, 'Execution, dissection, pain and infamy—a morphological investigation' in: Florike Egmond and Robert Zwijnenberg eds., *Bodily Extremities: Preoccupations with the Human Body in Early Modern European Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003) 92–128 (108–126); Luigi Lazzerini, 'Le radici folkloriche dell'Anatomia. Scienza e rituale all'inizio dell'età moderna', *Quaderni storici* 29 (1994) 193–233 (193–195, 223–226); Andrea Carlino, *La fabbrica del corpo. Libri e dissezione nel Rinascimento* (Turin: Einaudi, 1994) 97–105.

or glorification of the uncorrupted body of the saint who had already been recognized.[99] It is not surprising that the autopsies carried out on the bodies of recently deceased candidates prior to their canonizations often took place in secrecy.[100] After all, the authorities had not yet pronounced a definitive judgment. The general public was permitted to view the body of the saint only after canonization, in the form of the displayed relics. If the body of a deceased person was laid in state and immediately attracted a throng of worshippers who took away relics (garments, nails, hairs, but sometime even excised skin and flesh), as happened with Neri in 1595, this alarmed legalist clerics such as Peña and Santori.

Before formal approval of the veneration of the deceased was granted, the function of the dissection of the body of a candidate for canonization lay in the acquisition of knowledge. It was aimed at collecting details for the benefit of the canonization process. In the case of the nighttime postmortem of Neri there was, as in a private dissection, only a handful of observers present. Some of them had an interest in the canonization of Neri (the Oratorians Francesco Zazzara and Germanico Fedeli) and some were experts (the physician Bernardino Castellano, and the surgeon Marcantonio del Bello). The experts guaranteed the proper execution of the autopsy and were later able to provide informed evidence. In addition, there were some medical experts present who had already had dealings with the Oratory and of whom it could be expected that they would be inclined to interpret their observations as signs of Neri's saintliness (Angelo Vittori, one of Neri's personal doctors during the latter part of his life, Giuseppe Zerla, surgeon and lay brother of the Oratory, and Alessandro Alluminati, the Oratory's resident apothecary).[101] Most of those present later incorporated their findings concerning Neri's body into their testimonies in the canonization process.[102]

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[99] Park points out the analogy between the autopsy carried out on the bodies of the deceased with a *fama sanctitatis* and the dissection of the bodies of executed persons, principally emphasizing the interpretation of the spectacle. Park, 'The criminal and the saintly body', 2–4, 21–26.

[100] Nancy G. Siraisi, 'Signs and evidence: autopsy and sanctity in Late Sixteenth-Century Italy' in: idem, *Medicine and the Italian Universities, 1250–1600* (Leiden: Brill, 2001) 356–380 (356–357); Carlino, *La fabbrica del corpo*, 188–194.

[101] Siraisi, 'Signs and evidence', 364–365; Zazzara, 'Diario delle onoranze', 3.

[102] Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, I, 52–69 [F. Zazzara]; ibid., I, 163 and III, 251 [G. Fedeli]; ibid., II, 219 and IV, 107–108 [M.A. Del Bello]; ibid., I, 152–154 [A. Vittori]; ibid., II, 220–222 [G. Zerla]; ibid., I, 148 [A. Alluminati].

In the *Vita* of Neri, Gallonio wrote in detail about what took place at the dissection, although he was not present.[103] The anatomy of Neri's mortal remains was exceptional and the idiosyncrasies could only be ascribed to a miracle. The most important was the area around his heart, which gave evidence of the exceptional character of Neri. The large amount of space around his heart supposedly protected Neri from pain during his life. This was the divine remedy against the enormous heat that Neri created in his heart by thinking about God.[104]

Gallonio's report is extensive, and in many places appears to echo the statements of various physicians that occupied themselves with Neri's physiology. He synthesized their expert opinions for Neri's canonization process.[105] Similarly, in the section of the Vita that follows, a sizeable inventory of the miracles that were attributed to Neri after his death, he made sure to underpin all purported events with testimonies. This is in contrast with the final ten pages in which he summarized Neri's virtues: his humility, deliberate poverty, continuous prayers, tears, mildness, and wisdom. These virtues are not substantiated with proofs, be they depositions or otherwise.[106] In this way Gallonio represented Neri's exemplary virtues as a standardized collection of qualities, whereas he painstakingly buttressed the wondrous transformation of Neri's body and the miraculous healings that proved his saintliness with the observations of numerous reliable and respectable witnesses.

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[103] Gallonio, *Vita beati patris*, 18, 227–228; idem, *Vita del beato padre*, 245–247.

[104] 'Aperta anteriore parte thoracis inventae fuere, mirantibus qui aderant, sinistri lateris costae duae mendosae, ut vocant, fractae: erant hae quarta, & quinta. Fractura in anteriore parte pectoris apparebat, ubi costae in cartilaginem desinunt: costae adeò elevatae erant, ut eas pugni magnitudinem non aequare modò, verùm superare etiam profiterentur omnes: remedium profectò id fuisse divinum quis neget? quò palpitans cor non laederetur: nam neque lapsus, neque percussio, neque vis ulla praecessit unquam, qua id effici potuisset, neque dolor quantulumcumque minimus fuit, neque inflammatio exorta. Hanc ipsam porrò costarum fracturam contra omnem medicinae rationem totos quinquaginta plus annos absque ullo sensu doloris sustinuit. Habuit ea initium à nimia divini amoris vi, summoque cordis eius ardore, quo inter contemplandum vel maximè afficiebatur.' Gallonio, *Vita beati patris*, 227–228.

[105] The medical details will be dealt with in the following chapter.

[106] Gallonio, *Vita beati patris*, 261–269, after the miracles at 235–260; idem, *Vita del beato padre*, 274–284, after the miracles at 252–273.

3.3 *Martyrs*

In the first centuries of Christianity the Church had venerated only martyrs, not confessors. Martyrs allowed themselves to be killed, as the only alternative they had was to disavow the Christian faith. In the early modern period this variant of sainthood evoked little legal reflection in the Curia and in the clerics concerned. Accordingly, and in contrast to his *Vita* of Neri, Gallonio did not explicitly place his martyrological work in the service of the canonization procedure. He did, however, put forward martyrdom as a sacred variant of criminal proceedings. In martyrdom it became evident that belief in God was more important than social order. In martyrdom the judge brought about the opposite of what he intended; with his instruments of torture he elicited from the martyr not a confession of guilt but a statement (*confessio*) of unshakeable belief in God and joy about the approaching entry into the hereafter.

Martyrdom and the Regulation of the Cult of the Saints

By the Middle Ages, martyrs had become a memory from the distant past. In the sixteenth century martyrdom once more became a regularly occurring cultural theme in political and devotional writings and imagery, but principally in the form of resurging cults of ancient martyrs.[107] Even though religious violence in northern Europe, in the Mediterranean area and in the newly accessible areas in America and Asia claimed plenty of victims who would have made potential martyrs of the Roman Catholic Church, between the Council of Trent and the French Revolution the Holy See beatified or canonized new martyrs on only four occasions.[108] The decisions that the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies took in the first four decades after 1588 related in the greater part to aspects of the veneration of confessors. Martyrs received little canonical recognition.

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[107] Brad S. Gregory, 'Late Medieval Religiosity and the Renaissance of Christian Martyrdom in the Reformation Era' in: Robert James Bast and Andrew Colin Gow eds., *Continuity and Change: The Harvest of Late Medieval and Reformation History: Essays Presented to Heiko A. Oberman on his 70th Birthday* (Leiden: Brill, 2000) 379–399 (379–380); idem, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999) 1–8. See also chapter 2.

[108] Benvenuti, *Storia della santità*, 294–295. The first time was in 1627, with the beatification of the crucified missionaries of Japan (died 1597), followed in 1675 by the beatification of the martyrs of Gorkum (died 1572). The only canonizations of martyrs in this period were those in 1729 of the Bohemian priest John of Nepomuk (died 1393) and in 1746 of the Swabian Capuchin Fedelis von Sigmaringen (died 1622).

The impression that arises therefore is that, in the years in which Gallonio was active, martyrdom was not a theme in the developments surrounding the formal recognition of saints.[109] The reason for the ecclesiastical reticence with regard to the liturgical commemoration of new martyrs must be looked for in casual remarks and hints in martyrological texts, from which it becomes apparent that martyrdom was a delicate matter. Such remarks only gradually evolved into criteria that finished up as norms in the canonical prescriptions. An example of this is to be found in Gallonio's preface to the Latin edition of the treatise of martyrdom. When he introduces the Catholics that had been killed recently in northwest Europe, he emphasizes that they had died for the sake of their Catholic faith.[110] This was to forestall criticism that the victims of contemporary religious violence did not belong in a treatise about holy martyrs, because it was insufficiently proven that they had indeed been killed on account of their religion.

Possibly Gallonio had received advice on this matter from Pierpaolo Crescenzi, who was a seasoned jurist, having climbed the ladder of his career in the papal tribunals. In 1608 he became counselor to the *Signatura*, an organ that assessed the admissibility of legal cases, and subsequently in 1609 became a judge in the tribunal of the *Camera Apostolica*, which dealt with civil trials and criminal trials relating to priests.[111] Crescenzi wrote a long foreword to the Latin edition of Gallonio's treatise of martyrdom. The approval that this ambitious curial officer thus gave to the book would have been unthinkable if Gallonio had not taken certain sensitivities of canon law into account.

The criterion that only Christians who were killed unequivocally on account of their faith counted as proper martyrs went back to Augustine (354–430): 'martyrem non facit poena, sed causa'; not the violence perpetrated, but the reasons for perpetrating and suffering it determined whether one could speak of a martyrdom or of a mundane execution or murder.

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[109] As Gregory puts it in his discussion of martyrdom in Catholic Europe in the early modern period: 'Official canonization in Rome was beside the point.' Gregory, *Salvation at Stake*, 252. See also idem, 'Late medieval religiosity', 394–397.

[110] 'non solum innumeris fere (si loqui sic licet) antiquorum martyrum tormentis, sed etiam nostrae aetatis Catholicorum, qui pro fide Catholica mortem constanti animo oppetivere', Antonio Gallonio, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus liber* (Rome: Tipografia della Congregazione dell'Oratorio, 1594) ++^{vo} (preface to the reader).

[111] Irene Fosi, 'Crescenzi, Pier Paolo' in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* XXX (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1984) 648–649. See for the functions of the *Signatura* and of the tribunal of the *Camera Apostolica*: idem, 'Il governo della giustizia', 120–122.

The perpetrator must have killed the victim, motivated by his hatred of the Christian faith, and the victim must have chosen to die because he could not otherwise have avoided betraying his faith.[112] The difficulty in establishing these motives was a recurring theme in martyrological literature. Chacón, for example, was faced with this in his book about the two hundred murdered monks of Cardeña. After the historical presentation of the massacre, his book gradually acquires a more apologetic nature. Halfway through, Chacón counters the possible objection that no one could know for certain whether the martyrs of Cardeña had actually died because of their Christian belief. As the Saracens had left no one alive to tell the tale, it was impossible to discover the motives for their heinous deed. Here Chacón retorts that the same could be said about the eleven thousand virgins of Ursula, whom the Church nevertheless regarded unreservedly as Christian martyrs.[113]

Augustine's maxim eventually ended up in canon law. Rocca refers to the statement in his introduction to *De canonizatione sanctorum* and again in the brief chapter that he devotes to the canonization of martyrs. He gives the subject little mention beyond this: he points out that the canonization of martyrs, just like that of confessors, required thorough examination, but in the case of martyrdom the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies did not have to establish the occurrence of miracles.[114] The question of whether papal recognition of martyrs required miracles to have taken place caused quite some discussion among the ecclesiastical jurists in the seventeenth century. Ultimately, the demonstrable hate of

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[112] This maxim can be found in several of the Church Father's works, e.g. Augustine, *Corpus Augustinianum Gissense*, ed. Cornelius Mayer (Basel: Schwabe, 1995), *Epistulae*, 89.2, 204.4; *Sermones*, 285.2.

[113] 'Opponet hic aliquis, qualiter Martyres fuerunt hi Monachi, quorum verba, nutus, aut signa, quibus fidem Christianam protestarentur, dum gladiis infidelium occubuerunt, haud novimus, occisi sunt ab Arabibus, fatemur, sed causam prorsus ignoramus. Nullus evasit, qui praesens adesset, quae gesta fuere. [...] Cum autem martyres poena non efficiat, sed causa, dubitare merito possumus, sint ne gradu martyrum constituendi hi ducenti Monachi, cum poena quidem constet, causam autem ignoramus, pro qua passi fuerunt. [...] Si enim nulla alia causa intercessit, quam Christianos esse, & ob id odio in religionem concepto, eos interemerunt, co.stat Martyrium illos subiisse, ab infidelibus fideles, solum quod Christiani essent, & non fuga eos, non aliis modis, quibus poterant se subduxerunt, sed fortiter persisterunt dum Barbarus hostis suam in eis crudelitatis libidinem exercuit. Neque aliter passae sunt undecim mille Virgines cum Ursula Britanniae Regis filia ab Hunniis iuxta Coloniam, quam quod Christianae essent, has tamen ut verae Martyres recepit, & colit universalis Ecclesia.' Chacón, *De martyrio ducentorum monachorum*, 100–102.

[114] 'Martyrem namque Christi, ut ait S. Pater Augustinus multis in locis, non poena facit, sed causa', 'causa non poena ut ait S.P. Augustinus, facit Martyrem', Rocca, *De canonizatione sanctorum*, 12–13, 81–83.

the Christian faith on the side of the persecutor and the constancy of the faith on the side of the martyr were to remain the principal touchstones for legitimate martyrdom.[115] Cardinal Lambertini finally laid this down in the eighteenth century in his great synthesis of the procedure of canonization.[116] In the sixteenth century, writers such as Gallonio, Chacón and Rocca merely adumbrated these legal aspects of martyrdom that were to gain a definitive place in the ecclesiastical regulation of the canonization process only two centuries later.

Gallonio devotes more attention in his martyrological treatise to the discernible, physical signs of martyrdom than to its moral content. In spite of the Augustinian adage, he concentrates on the *poena* instead of the *causa*. In the eighteenth century Lambertini did refer to the Latin edition of Gallonio's martyrological treatise in support of his contention that the misery of exile and forced labor could also apply as full martyrdom if they resulted in death.[117] Nevertheless, by and large Gallonio's treatise was of but limited relevance to the legal implementation of canonization *per viam martyrii*. In his martyrological work, Gallonio's framework was criminal law rather than canonization procedure. He described martyrdom as an inversion of the criminal trial. He conceived martyrs to be Christians who justly preferred divine order to man-made legal order.

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[115] Anna Egidia Catenaro, *Il concetto di martirio e la valutazione delle prove nelle cause dei Santi* (Rome: Pontificia Università Lateranense, 2004) 21–23; Dalla Torre, 'Il martirio in Benedetto XIV', 358–359. In the seventeenth century a fierce debate raged about the necessity for the occurrence of miracles for the canonization of a martyr. The outcome was that ecclesiastical authorities indeed demanded a miracle for martyrdom to be taken into consideration. Lambertini, *De servorum Dei*, I, 219–229. Luca Castellini (†1633), *procurator generalis* of the Dominican order and professor of theology at the Sapienza, who published a book specifically on the subject in 1629, took a middle position. He rejected the idea that a miracle was *necessary*, even if he considered a miracle certainly *useful* for the purposes of the canonization of a martyr. This goes to show that the status of martyrdom was not resolved even as Urban VIII tightened the regulations for canonization. Luca Castellini, *De inquisitione miraculorum in Sanctorum Martyrum canonizatione* (Rome: G. Mascardi, 1629) 89–132; on Castellini see Carlo Longo, 'Fr. Luca Castellini O.P. vescovo di Catanzaro (1629–1633)' in: Pietro Borzomati e.a. eds., *Chiesa e società nel Mezzogiorno. Studi in onore di Maria Mariotti* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubettino, 1998) I, 365–403.

[116] Catenaro, *Il concetto di martirio*, 21–23; Dalla Torre, 'Il martirio in Benedetto XIV', 358–359.

[117] 'Sequuntur exempla pariter ab Ecclesiastica Historia desumpta eorum, qui in carcere, aut exilio mortui sunt ex aerumnis usque ad obitum continuatis, quique etiam utì Martyres coluntur; de quibus porrò multa habentur *in Libro* eruditi Viri Antonii Gallonii *de Cruciatibus Sanctorum Martyrum*, ubi mentionem habet Martyrum exilio damnatorum, aliorum adscriptorum operibus aedificiorum, & purgationi cloacarum, aliorum denique ad metalla destinatorum.' Lambertini, *De servorum Dei beatificatione*, III, 123.

In doing so he appealed to terminology and knowledge that were of particular relevance to inquisitors and secular judges.

Martyrdom, Judicial Torture and Corporal Punishment

Contemporary criminal justice in Gallonio's treatise of martyrdom manifests itself principally in the torture itself. Many of the tortures and punishments described seem fanciful and appear to belong more to the martyrological literary tradition than to the actual workings of justice. However, in the reworking of the Italian edition into the Latin edition, Gallonio tried to attune the work more to the current judicial theory and practice.

The shift in emphasis between the Italian and the Latin editions can be illustrated by the passages about a well-known object from ancient literature, the *taurus aeneus* or bronze bull. From Gallonio's discussion of this object it appears that it did not in any way correspond with an object from his own world of experience. It concerned a hollow, metal bull with a trapdoor in its back. When someone was placed inside the bull, a fire could be lit underneath. The victim's screams, distorted by the metal shell, were said to have sounded like the bellowing of a bull. Gallonio based his discussion on the usual ancient sources, in particular Ovid and Lucian of Samosata.[118]

Gallonio appears to have introduced this object in the Italian edition to set a moral example rather than to elucidate the working of the contraption. The inventor Perillus of Athens had designed the bronze bull as a gift for the ruler Phalaris of Agrigento. However, the tyrant rewarded the inventor by making him the first fatal victim of his own creation. The inhabitants of Agrigento were later to kill their monarch in turn in his own bronze bull. More important here to Gallonio was not the working of this instrument of torture but rather the suggestion that ultimately it did not pay to endeavor to please the worldly monarch or to strive for worldly dominion whatever the cost. While the pagan victims in the bronze bull screamed in agony, as is apparent from Gallonio's reconstruction, Christian victims underwent this torture with joyful song.[119] In this way Gallonio contrasted the damned pagans with the Christians, who preferred

[118] Antonio Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio* (Rome: A. and G. Donangeli, 1591) 80–81; idem, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, 151–154.

[119] Compare: 'gridando per lo soverchio ardore' and: 'cantandovi per cagione di grandissima allegrezza', Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio*, 80.

to serve their spiritual Lord rather than their worldly king, and who, after their death, could expect a better life. The legendary object served as the raw material out of which Gallonio moulded a moral message.

In the Latin edition, Gallonio made the contrast between the pagans and the Christians less manifest by inserting two additional pages. He included critical annotations to several ancient sources, including Lucian, who had alleged that Phalaris had sent the bronze bull to Delphi as an offering, something that Gallonio dismissed.[120] This interpolation makes the Latin text less powerful as a moral instruction. Gallonio disturbed the symmetry of the text by adding critical comments to his reconstruction of the facts.

A subtle modification in the opening lines of the chapter in which Gallonio treats the bronze bull suggests what the background was to these changes. The incidents of torture were no longer purely emblematic motifs from hagiographical and historical tradition, but a martyrological version of juridical torture and corporal punishment. In the Italian edition the chapter is said to discuss 'instruments, with which the enemies of God have burned the Christians'.[121] In the Latin edition, it becomes 'instruments of martyrdom, with which condemned people were burned'.[122] Here he explicitly points to the analogy between martyrdom and the torture of the condemned. In the preface to the Latin edition Gallonio announces that in this new version he has included torture undergone by Catholics in his own time.[123] Here and there in the main text he indeed inserted passages from the writings of modern authors about the cruelties to which Protestants had exposed Catholics in the British Isles, France and the Low Countries.[124] These new martyrs had been victims of

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[120] 'licet ibi aliqua misceantur, quae vera non sint: fingitur enim [...] taurum Perilli a Phalaride Delphos mitti, ut in templo inter cetera donaria Deo consecretur,' Gallonio, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, 152.

[121] 'Poiche s'è trattato nel cap. precedente di quegli instrumenti, co i quali si abbruciavano da gli nimici di Dio, i Christiani, seguiremo hora di più altri, che pel medesimo effetto servivano', Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio*, 80.

[122] 'Quoniam superiore capite de illis martyrii instrumentis egimus, quibus damnati homines exurebantur; reliquum est modo, ut de aliis quibusdam hic investigemus, quibus eodem vel consimili cruciatus genere iidem affici solebant.' Gallonio, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, 151.

[123] 'En tibi, lector, librum auctum tradimus, quem hoc tempore Latino sermone conscripsimus, non solum innumeris fere (si loqui sic licet) antiquorum martyrum tormentis, sed etiam nostrae aetatis Catholicorum, qui pro fide Catholica mortem constanti animo oppetivere', ibid., ++^{vo} (preface to the reader).

[124] Examples at ibid., 76–77, 140, 176, 207.

violence that the worldly authorities had employed as torture or as corporal punishment.

In this way, Gallonio puts martyrdom into the sphere of contemporary judicial practice in the Latin edition. When in the third chapter he discusses the methods by which pagans and heretics were wont to tie up Christians or otherwise restrict their freedom of movement, he turns abruptly to the precarious legal status of Catholics in England. There Elizabeth I (1533–1603, queen 1558) had promulgated laws through which Roman Catholics who refused to follow the Protestant liturgy were automatically suspected of high treason. As a result, English Catholics saw themselves as being faced with a choice similar to that faced by the martyrs in ancient Rome. If they were to participate in the religious rituals imposed by the state they would automatically deny their own religion, but if they were to refuse to do so they risked punishment for high treason.[125] Many English Catholics or their sympathizers landed in prison and underwent torture. From the viewpoint of the English judiciary the torture of the Catholics served to wring a confession of rebellion out of them, but for the victims it was a way of declaring their faith.[126]

In the third chapter Gallonio cites a sizeable section of a work by the English controversialist Nicholas Sanders (*c.* 1530–1581) about the persecution of English Catholics. This is followed by an enumeration of all the acts that Elizabeth's government looked upon as *crimen laesae maiestatis*.[127] Authors such as Sanders, but also, for example, William Allen (1532–1594) and Richard Verstegan, whose publications Gallonio used elsewhere in his work, were aware of the delicate balance between martyrdom on the one hand and legitimate judicial torture and corporal punishment for the protection of the interests of society on the other. These authors emphasized that Catholics in England were not brought to trial for treason, but rather underwent the violence meted out by the English government as martyrdom for refusing to forswear their Catholic faith. Gallonio wove this

[125] Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided, 1490–1700* (London: Allen Lane, 2003) 334; Ann Dillon, *The Construction of Martyrdom in the English Catholic Community* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002) 9–14; Edward Rombauts, *Richard Verstegen: een polemist der Contra-Reformatie* (Brussels: Algemeene drukinrichting, 1933) 26–28.

[126] Elizabeth Hanson, 'Torture and truth in Renaissance England', *Representations* 34 (1991) 53–84 (62–66).

[127] Gallonio, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, 76–94.

topical tension between social order and individual confession of faith into *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*.[128]

Torture was part of an interrogation that could lead to a confession, a sentence and, possibly, physical punishment. The interrogation and confession played a central role in criminal investigations in the early modern period, both in secular and ecclesiastical courts. The Inquisition traced its own work back to God's interrogation of Adam.[129] The torture of an accused in a judicial procedure was in fact an exceptional variant of the instrument of the interrogation in the judicial establishment of truth. If the accused could give no answer while there was compelling incriminating evidence against him, the judge, who also acted as prosecutor, could resort to judicial torture.[130] Judicial torture was not an unrestrained act of violence, but called for judiciousness, self-restraint and detailed procedures.[131]

The dialogue between the judge and the holy martyr as an inversion of criminal interrogation and execution, in which the accused was not a lying criminal or rebel but a Christian who unhesitatingly confessed his dedication to the Christian faith, was an age-old *topos* in hagiography.[132] The procedure was turned round, with the victim a representative of the sacred order and the persecutor the mischief. The victim gave a statement in the form of a confession of faith, thus confessing no guilt but rather a religious conviction. In the treatise of martyrdom Gallonio does not treat the interrogation as a separate theme, but in his *Historia delle sante vergini romane* the dialogue between the virgin and the persecutor

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[128] William Allen, *Historia del glorioso martirio di sedici sacerdoti martirizzati in Inghilterra per la confessione, & difesa della fede catolica, l'anno 1581. 1582. & 1583.* (Macerata: S. Martellini, 1583) 3–6 (this is a translation of William Allen, *A Briefe Historie of the Glorious Martyrdom of Twelve Reverend Priests* (Reims: s.n., 1582) with some additions); Richard Verstegan, *Theatrum crudelitatum haereticorum nostri temporis* (Antwerp: A. Huberti, 1592[2] [1587]) 8–14. Cfr. for the tension between perseverance in one's religious allegiance and rebellion against the rightfully constituted secular government, as it occurs in Baronio's *Annales ecclesiastici* in the context of the Jewish Revolt against Rome: Irina Oryshkevich, 'Roma Sotterranea and the Biogenesis of New Jerusalem', *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 55/56 (2009) 174–181 (176).

[129] Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza*, 194–195, 202–210.

[130] Lisa Silverman, *Tortured Subjects: Pain, Truth, and the Body in Early Modern France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001) 51–68.

[131] Romeo, *L'inquisizione*, 42–43; Silverman, *Tortured Subjects*, 16–17; Joy Wiltenburg, 'The Carolina and the culture of the common man: revisiting the imperial penal code of 1532', *Renaissance Quarterly* 53 (2000) 713–734.

[132] Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1966[2] [1921]) 254–273.

is a substantial part of many of the brief *historiae*—in fact, he often copied this directly from his sources.

In the *historia* of Restituta, for example, Judge Agathius continually asks his victim questions between the successive phases of torture. Just like in a normal trial, she has to begin by stating her name, to which family she belongs, and where she is from. Restituta answers that she is Roman, that according to secular law she is from a noble family, but that according to her religion she is a servant of Christ. Judge Agathius warns her that this answer is harmful to her case, because it is contrary to imperial decrees. It is significant that at first Agathius wants to waive the violence prescribed by the anti-Christian laws because Restituta is so young.[133] In the instructions and manuals for judges in secular and ecclesiastical courts, age and health were factors that could move the judge to forbear torture.[134] Restituta, however, decides to choose her Christian laws over the secular laws, thus placing herself outside the law, and the judge indeed has her beaten, enchained, burned on braziers, and ultimately drowned in the river.[135] The narrative emphasizes that Christian martyrdom transcends common judicial violence; in normal criminal proceedings pagan judiciaries show clemency to the weak, but confrontations with Christians incensed them to such an extent that the conventional contraints, such as the age or state of health of the victims, failed to rein them in.

As for torture itself, it was *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus* which showed the strongest parallel with judicial procedure. The Oratorian was not precise in his references to criminal law—he failed, for instance, to distinguish between interrogation and execution—but he certainly showed his acquaintance with contemporary criminal justice.[136]

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[133] 'assecurati pure, che s'io non havesse rispetto alla tua tenera età, e se non mi persuadesse, che tu non hai havuto cognitione degli editti de'nostri Principi; ti punirei secondo che le leggi promulgate contro i Christiani richiedono.' Antonio Gallonio, *Historia delle sante vergini romane* (Rome: A. and G. Donangeli, 1591 [i.e. 1593]) 91–92.

[134] For example Giulio Claro, *Receptarum sententiarum opera omnia* (Frankfurt a.M.: W. Richter, 1613) 228–230; the first edition is: idem, *Sententiarum receptarum liber quintus. Item practica criminalis* (Venice: G. Gryphius, 1568).

[135] 'La interrogò primieramente Agatio del nome, della nobiltà, della patria, e finalmente della causa della sua venuta à Sora. Alle quali domande così ella [...] sodisfece: Di patria sono Romana, e secondo le leggi del mondo assai nobile, per religione Christiana, e serva di Christo, dal quale sono stata quivi da Roma mandata per beneficio, e salute di tutti voi. [...] le disse, Penso io, ò fanciulla, che tu non sappia quello, che hanno decretato gli Imperatori contra coloro, che seguono la legge di Christo', Gallonio, *Historia delle sante vergini romane*, 91–96.

[136] Jetze Touber, 'Articulating pain: martyrology, torture and execution in the works of Antonio Gallonio (1556–1605)' in: Jan Frans van Dijkhuizen and K.A.E. Enenkel eds.,

Gallonio used several source texts that belonged within the sphere of secular law rather than canon law. Jurists who wrote about secular law were very interested in the historical background of terms and concepts. In secular law new, annotated editions of ancient judicial texts appeared, ranging from the original corpora of Theodosius and Justinian to the medieval *glossae* of Accursius (1182ca.–1260ca.) and his successors.[137] French legal scholars in particular contributed much to the historical approach to law in the sixteenth century. The reconstruction of ancient customs and procedures and the organization of contemporary society went hand in hand and were virtually inseparable. All aspects of the judicial establishment of truth, from the clothing of the judges to the formulas for the summoning of defendants, were seen as relevant for this reconstruction. Guillaume Budé (1467–1540) published an annotation to the *Corpus Iuris Justinianum* under the title *Annotationes in Pandectas* (1508), in which he historicized Justinian law. For Budé, philology rather than judisprudence was the apt method of dealing with such texts, investigating the authentic phrasing and the historical context of Roman law. Andrea Alciati (1492–1550), a contemporary of Guillaume Budé, was also strongly associated with the development of French legal humanism, and later in the sixteenth century Jacques Cujas, Marc Antoine Muret and Barnabé Brisson were followers of this *mos gallicus*, the philological approach to historical legal sources.[138]

Gallonio was familiar with these legal scholars, and he used their writings in his martyrological work. In *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus* he refers repeatedly to Budé, Alciati, Cujas, and Muret.[139] He himself owned copies of Budé's *Annotationes in Pandectas* and Brisson's *De formulis*.[140] Exceptional in this respect is Carlo Sigonio. This scholar from Modena had

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The Sense of Suffering: Constructions of Physical Pain in Early Modern Culture (Leiden: Brill, 2009) 59–89.

137 Ian Maclean, *Interpretation and Meaning in the Renaissance: the Case of Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) 12–19, 30–34.

138 Ibid., 15–16, 65; Gilbert Gadoffre, *La Révolution culturelle dans la France des humanistes: Guillaume Budé et François Ier* (Geneva: Droz, 1997) 26–30; Eli Barnavi and Robert Descimon, *La Sainte Ligue, le juge et la potence: l'assassinat du président Brisson (15 novembre 1591)* (Paris: Hachette, 1985) 78–79; Donald R. Kelley, *Foundations of Modern Historical Scholarship: Language, Law and History in the French Renaissance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970) 53–148.

139 Examples at Gallonio, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, 9 (Alciati), 52 (Muret), 65 (Brisson), 222 (Brisson and Cujas).

140 Guillaume Budé, *Annotationes in XXIIII. Pandectarum libros* (Lyon: S. Gryphius, 1541) and Barnabé Brisson, *De formulis et sollemnibus populi Romani verbis, libri VIII* (Frankfurt a.M.: J. Wechel and P. Fischer, 1592), respectively ASR, Notai A.C. Vol. 66 ff. 114ro and 111ro.

published many historical studies that contributed to the organization of contemporary legal and political theory.[141] Gallonio praised his erudition and scholarship, but at the same time expressed considerable criticism of him. This related particularly to the construction of the *equuleus*, the 'wooden horse', an instrument of torture (see § 5.2). Thus, Gallonio not only made extensive use of the classical scholarship of these secular jurists for the reconstructions in his treatises of martyrdom, he also went into open discussion with them.

Studies of worldly judicial procedure at times scarcely corresponded with the actual practice in the courts. Much like Gallonio's extravagant torture instruments that often derived directly from classical literature, some of the spectacular forms of torture and corporal punishment that secular scholars discussed were remote from common practice in everyday life. A typical example of the persistent existence in legal literature of a type of corporal punishment that was hardly ever applied in practice is the *culleus*. This was a sack, into which someone who had committed parricide was sewn, together with a dog, a cock, a snake and a monkey, then thrown into the water and drowned. Jurists had discussed this punishment since the twelfth century in their annotations to Roman law, even though in the earliest legal texts known from antiquity it already figured as an archaic practice which had become obsolete. It is very difficult to substantiate that ancient Roman society ever actually put this punishment into practice, and in the Middle Ages and the early modern period the *poena cullei* appears principally to have been part of theoretical reflections on criminal justice.[142]

Gallonio also discusses the *culleus*, in passing, halfway through a summary of the manner in which pagans threw their Christian victims from high places. 'Being thrown from a high place' constituted a proper category of torment, which included drowning, and therefore also the *poena cullei*. Gallonio joins in with the scholarly discussion relating to this punishment. On the basis of citations from classical writers, but also from the *Institutiones* of Justinian and from the *Lex Pompeia*, as reconstructed by Sigonio, he discusses questions such as when precisely the punishment was introduced, whether it was always applied in the same way, and

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[141] For the biography of Sigonio: William McCuaig, *Carlo Sigonio. The Changing World of the Late Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989) 3–95.

[142] Florike Egmond, 'The cock, the dog, the serpent, and the monkey. Reception and transmission of a Roman punishment, or historiography as history', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 2 (1995) 159–192 (159–160, 165–176).

whether it was always applicable for the same transgression. Apart from Sigonio, Gallonio also refers to Brisson and Cujas. According to Gallonio it was not always the case that all four animal species were sewn into the sack with the victim.[143]

The *culleus* was principally a theoretical element in criminal justice, as the *taurus aeneus* was a literary element in martyrology. Once in a while in the martyrological treatise Gallonio also touched upon the actual practice of criminal justice. Indeed he came into contact with it himself as part of his pastoral duties. Since 1580 the Oratorian Fathers had given guidance and instruction to—and taken confession from—prisoners of the Inquisition. In addition, Gallonio was personally involved in the spiritual welfare of prisoners in the secular prisons of Campidoglio and Tor di Nona. In about 1587 Gallonio accompanied Neri to the Tor di Nona prison at the request of a friar of the *Compagnia della Misericordia*, in order to induce a condemned prisoner to penance.[144] In prisons such as Tor di Nona the thumbscrew, the rope and the withholding of sleep were regularly applied methods of torture.[145]

Gallonio equated the martyrological motif of 'hanging from the pulley' with the contemporary torture of the rope. In the Italian edition he mentions this torment simply by its name: 'as with the torture of the *corda*'.[146] In the Latin edition he describes the *corda* as a method of torture in contemporary criminal justice: martyrs were hauled up on pulleys just as in his own time courts of justice put suspects of murder to torture, with their hands tied behind their backs, suspended from a rope, in order to wring a confession out of them.[147] In both editions Gallonio refers to the notes in the *Martyrologium Romanum* relating to Saint Servus, who had undergone martyrdom by the pulleys in North Africa during the rule of the Vandals. However, the *Martyrologium* was silent on the application of the *corda* as

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[143] Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio*, 139–140; idem, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, 219–222.

[144] Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, I, 257; Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, I, 60 [F. Zazzara], 188 [A. Gallonio].

[145] Michele di Sivo, 'Per via di giustizia. Sul processo penale a Roma tra XVI e XIX secolo' in: Monica Calzolari, Michele di Sivo and Elvira Grantaliano eds., *Giustizia e criminalità nello stato pontificio. Ne delicta remaneant impunita* (Rome: Gangemi, 2001) 13–35 (23–25, 27–30).

[146] 'furono alzati con le troclee, come si sogliono alzare coloro, a'quali si dà la corda', Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio*, 24.

[147] 'non tantum trochleis fuisse extensos, verum etiam sublime iisdem elevatos, eo modo, quo temporibus istis rei mortis, revinctis post terga manibus, extorquendae veritatis causa, fune elevari solent.' Gallonio, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, 41–42.

a method in sixteenth-century judicial practice.[148] The reference to contemporary criminal justice was an addition made by Gallonio himself. In the Latin edition he states the function of the torture literally: to wring out the truth.

Gallonio devotes a large part of the treatise of martyrdom to categories of torture that he presents as if they occurred in a fixed order of succession in the martyrdom of saints. Judges in secular and ecclesiastical courts had at their disposal a set arsenal of methods for making victims of torture speak. Judicial torture used to be classified in categories, phases or gradations.[149] This was, for example, self-evident for Judge Peña who, in addition to his activities in the context of the cult of the saints, also edited and published some ten medieval writings for the instruction of judges, including the influential *Directorium inquisitorum* by the fourteenth-century Catalan Inquisitor Nicolaus Eymericus (1320–1399).[150] In his edition of Eymericus' handbook, Peña states in his comments that five gradations of torture were prevalent, and that they were so generally known that he did not even need to enumerate them.[151] For this claim Peña referred to a number of jurists, who placed different emphases in their explanations of these phases. In most instances the phases amounted to gradations in the severity of torture by the *corda*, varying from simply frightening the accused, right through to suspending the victim and every so often dropping him, sometimes even with weights attached to his legs.[152] In

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[148] 'torquendi genus, quod falsò nonnulli dicunt, torquere fidiculis, cùm fune reus, revinctis post terga manibus, alligatur, ac in sublime tollitur,' *Martyrologium Romanum, ad novam kalendarii rationem, et ecclesiasticae historiae veritatem restitutum, Gregorii XIII. Pont. Max. iussu editum. Accesserunt notationes atque Tractatio de Martyrologio Romano* (Antwerp: Plantijn, 1589) 537.

[149] Piero Fiorelli, *La tortura giudiziaria nel diritto comune* (Milan: Giuffré, 1953–1954) I, 209–214.

[150] Andrea Del Col, *L'inquisizione in Italia dal 12. al 21. secolo* (Milan: Mondadori, 2006) 770; Agostino Borromeo, 'A proposito del *Directorium Inquisitorum* di Nicolaus Eymericus e delle sue edizioni cinquecentesche', *Critica Storica* 20 (1983) 499–547 (515–516).

[151] Nicolaus Eymericus, *Directorium Inquisitorum*, ed. Francisco Peña (Rome: in aedibus Populi Romani, 1578) 224–231. In his comments on Eymericus, Peña regularly refers to jurists who had written about secular law. Concerning torture, Peña cites the work of Ippolito de Marsiliis, Paolo Grillandi, Antonio Gomez and Giulio Claro. I have consulted: Ippolito de'Marsili, *Tractatus de questionibus nuperrime recognitus: in quo materie maleficiorum admodum diffuse subtiliterque pertractantum* (Lyon: Giunti, 1537); Paulo Grillandi, *Tractatus de hereticis et sortilegiis omnifariam coitu eorumque penis. De questionibus et tortura ac de relaxatione* (Lyon: Giunti, 1545 [but catalogued as 1547]); Claro, *Receptarum sententiarum*.

[152] Claro, *Receptarum sententiarum*, 230; Grillandi, *Tractatus de hereticis et sortilegiis*, 94vo–100vo; De'Marsili, *Tractatus de questionibus*, 5vo–6vo.

a parallel way, Gallonio adresses the torture methods involving binding, beating, tearing, and burning as if they a were part of a fixed chronological sequence. He introduces each new chapter as if the new category of torture would normally be applied after the type of torture that is described in the previous chapter.[153] In this way Gallonio presented the torture of saints, just like the autopsy of saints, as analogous to the manner in which it functioned in judicial practice.

Through Gallonio's extensive attention to torture and his references to the literature of sixteenth-century legal scholars, the priest presented the violent persecution of Catholic Christians as a sacred alternative to criminal justice. By emphasizing that obedience to God was of a higher order than subjection to societal rules, he again set completely different priorities from those of a jurist such as Peña. The Spanish judge devoted an equal amount of effort to further the effectiveness of inquisitional criminal justice as he did to devise a meticulous canonization procedure, as is apparent from his aforementioned work on medieval legal texts. Peña's opinion about a conciliar movement condemned as heretical in Spanish Alcalá in 1602 is illustrative. In a letter sent that year to Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini (1571–1621) he affirmed how, according to him, those involved should be punished very severely to set a powerful example.[154] Such an active use of the most external, physical legal instruments is a far cry from the endurance and impassivity in the face of secular authority that Gallonio advocated in his works.

3.4 *Conclusion*

Gallonio's work as a hagiographer was frequently occasioned by administrative and judicial questions relating to the cult of the saints, especially in the latter years of his life. His historical expertise was a vital asset in resolving such matters, making him a regular advisor to the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies. While the development of the canonization procedure was at its height, Gallonio became involved in a conflict that arose from differing viewpoints on the role of the clergy within that procedure. Some saw the clergy in the role of inquisitors, guided by a structural

153 Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio*, 34–79; idem, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, 47–149.

154 'Si ha a procurare et si procurara con effeto la punitione esemplarissima et severissima.' BibAng Ms. 883 f. 13ro.

distrust of each and every spontaneous expression of devotion among the laity. Conversely, Gallonio inclined towards a more lenient attitude that allowed more leeway for the devotion of laypeople. From his perspective this required a more decentralized structure, in which local authorities could register the signs of sainthood that accompanied a local cult rather than immediately trying to stamp out this veneration.

Most of the cases discussed by the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies concerned aspects of the veneration of confessors. Christian virtues were essential for the formal, public recognition of a candidate as a holy confessor. Miracles were, however, invariably required as indications of the candidate's exceptional state of grace, and thus served as legal evidence in favor of his divine election. In the canonization trial of Neri, Gallonio concentrated his efforts on gathering reports of miracles, mostly miraculous healings and the wondrous physical characteristics of the candidate himself. The judicial examination of the physical signs of the saintliness of confessors took concrete shape in the autopsy. The postmortem examination served to provide information about the body's hidden interior, similar to the closed meeting of students who attended a dissection performed by a professor of medicine. In contrast, the division, distribution and veneration of the saint's bodily relics after canonization was comparable with the public dissection of a criminal after execution. Such a spectacle amounted to displaying the judgment that the competent authorities had promulgated.

Martyrdom also constituted a spectacle in the legal sphere, though it was far less embedded in canon law. Martyrdom was a delicate matter for which the early modern Church developed little jurisprudence. In canonizing a martyr there was always the risk of venerating a mere rebel who had breached social order and had been executed legitimately. Accordingly, ecclesiastical reflection on martyrdom always underscored that the essence of martyrdom was the testimony of faith, while the violence was merely contextual. Nevertheless, in the treatise of martyrdom Gallonio concentrated precisely on the violence to which Christian martyrs were exposed—literally. He clinically described the mechanisms of violence *ad nauseam*, showing that he equated the ordeals to which early Christian martyrs were subjected with the judicial torture and corporal punishment that occurred in his own time. In the Latin version of the treatise in particular he had recourse to the theory and practice of criminal justice in order to describe the tortures as elements of secular judicial procedure. The Oratorian presented martyrdom as a sacred reversal of torture and execution in criminal justice.

Gallonio thus dismissed once more the worldly ambitions of jurists who by means of ingenious procedures endeavored to impose order on society. The Oratorian principally engaged with the outward aspects of procedures, the testimonies of miracles, the autopsies and the tortures and executions, without sharing the ambition of regulating society through these procedures. The belief in God that confessors and martyrs exhibited was more important to him than any rules or regulations thought up by mankind.

CHAPTER FOUR

HEALTH AND HOLINESS

Sainthood entailed participation in divine grace, a spiritual state.[1] Nevertheless, the body was a revealing source of signs for mortal humans to recognize sanctity, as we have seen in § 3.2. In the sixteenth century the perceived relationship between spiritual salvation and physical health was ambivalent. The body represented the corruption of the world as against the immortality of the incorporeal soul. However, the body also seemed to reflect materially either the soul's purity or its sinfulness. Body and soul were thus each other's opposites, but invariably tied up with each other at the same time.[2] Spiritual care was the domain of priests, while the care of the body was generally the work of medically trained professionals. However, the areas of competence were not clearly delimited.

Gallonio always gave priority to the care of the soul, at the expense of physical health. In this he followed his spiritual father Neri and the eastern ascetics who inspired his teacher. Nevertheless, his *Vita* of Neri is a veritable catalogue of illnesses and physical indispositions. The conditions of patients tended to be desperate, but recovery followed invariably against all odds, the result of an unconditional belief in God's omnipotence and Neri's intercession. Faith was more efficacious than fallible learning. Depending on the readership at which Gallonio was aiming, he expressed this principle either in the sober language of medical observation

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[1] Anna Benvenuti e.a., *Storia della santità nel cristianesimo occidentale* (Rome: Viella, 2005) 30; in the words of Angelo Rocca: 'Beati omnes in caelo existentes, sancti dicuntur, reque ipsa sunt, quia in sanguine Agni immaculati à suis peccatis mundati olim fuerunt' ('all the blessed that abide in heaven are called saints, and are so because they have been cleansed of their sins in the blood of the Lamb'), Angelo Rocca, *De sanctorum canonizatione commentarius* (Rome: G. Facciotti, 1601) 4.

[2] Philip A. Mellor and Chris Shilling, *Re-forming the Body: Religion, Community and Modernity* (London: Sage, 1997) 35–41, 68–72, 78–80; Michael Camille, 'The image and the self: unwriting late medieval bodies' in: Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin eds., *Framing Medieval Bodies* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994) 62–99 (68–77); Roberta Gilchrist, 'Medieval bodies in the material world: gender, stigma and the body' in: Kay and Rubin, *Framing Medieval Bodies*, 43–61 (43–47, 58–61); André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, transl. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005 [Rome: École française de Rome, 1981]) 427–443.

(in the Latin edition), or in emotional and evocative terms (in the Italian edition).[3]

The professional incapacity to diagnose and remedy physical ailments, as conveyed by Gallonio, is in contrast to the medical reaction to Neri's inexplicable abnormality. Medical experts were often greatly at odds about bodily processes, but they agreed on one thing: Neri's cardiac region was a supernatural phenomenon, to be ascribed to the omnipotence of God. While in Gallonio's *Vita* medical practitioners always remain passive spectators in the case of miraculous healing, they abruptly take center stage when they investigate the supernatural body of the saint.

4.1 *Spiritual and Physical Health*

Suffering can occur at any time and at any place. We have seen in § 1.1 how in 1557 Neri, together with several of his adherents, conceived a plan to depart for 'India' and there as missionaries to endure the horror, the danger and the misery that accompanied the propagation of the faith. Neri wished to make sure that their project did not run counter to the will of God, so he asked for the counsel of the monk Agostino Ghettini of the Cistercian abbey of the Tre Fontane, who in prayer reflected on the question. The monk had a vision in which John the Evangelist appeared to him and said that Neri should consider the city of Rome as his India. God wanted Neri and his followers to work for the well-being of Rome's inhabitants. During the vision, the three fountains of the abbey where Ghettini sat in prayer took on a blood-red color. According to the monk, this meant that the city would be afflicted by tribulations.[4] Ghettini's story suggested with apocalyptic undertones that Neri should consider Rome as the area of his mission. The conversion of corrupt souls and the experi-

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[3] When I quote only from the Italian edition, Antonio Gallonio, *Vita del beato padre Filippo Neri fiorentino fondatore della Congregatione dell'Oratorio* (Rome: L. Zannetti, 1601), it does not vary significantly from the Latin edition, idem, *Vita beati patris Philippi Nerii Florentini Congregationis Oratorii fundatoris in annos digesta* (Rome: L. Zannetti, 1600).

[4] 'Hora udito il Religioso Monaco (per ritornare all'historia) l'animo di Filippo intorno à impresa sì grande, pigliato tempo alla risposta raccomandò ferventemente il negotio al Signore, e ritornato à lui Filippo (come era semplice e puro) narrogli, che orando, San Giovanni Evangelista suo divoto gli era apparso, il quale gli haveva detto, che l'Indie sue erano Roma, dove voleva il Signore servirsi dell'opera, e buona volontà sua, e de'suoi allievi per la salute di molti; dissegli anco di haver veduta l'acqua delle tre fontane in color sanguigno mutata tutta, il che significava che tosto doveva venire alla Città qualche tribulatione, la qual cosa, come e'disse, gli haveva similmente l'Apostolo palesata.' Gallonio, *Vita del beato padre*, 56–57.

ence of painful ordeals would be no less in Rome than in the wilderness of Asia or America.[5]

Suffering and Salvation

Medieval Christian morality took physical work as a painful punishment.[6] Conversely, undergoing pain was also a form of work. By submitting himself patiently and with equanimity to the torments inflicted by God, the Christian exercised the virtue of *patientia*. Tommaso Bozio considered *patientia* to be one of the signs of the true church of God.[7] Angelo Rocca wrote a booklet about *patientia* as the most important virtue. He cited Gregory the Great, who had explained that the virtue of endurance, if not the source of all other virtues, certainly was the virtue that cleared the way for other virtues. He who could suffer in patience experienced no melancholy, preventing a whole chain of vices such as rage, hate and injustice from setting in. In this way, *patientia* stood at the base of a good Christian life.[8]

Devout persons sought physical suffering by moving to hostile areas to convert pagans, abstaining from food and drink for protracted periods, and by exposing themselves to the danger of infection while tending the sick. If no opportunity presented itself to undergo martyrdom at the hands of the enemies of the Christian faith, there was always the possibility of a martyrdom of sorts in daily life.[9] Not only disregard for one's own body but even actively causing oneself physical pain was a structural element

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[5] Gennaro Cassiani, 'Padre Filippo e le "Indie". Alle radici del progetto missionario dell'Oratorio', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 62 (2008) 47–80.

[6] Le Goff and Truong discuss the medieval semantic connection between 'working' and 'suffering pain'. 'Labor', as against 'opus', meant 'work' with the connotation of punishment and penance. Jacques Le Goff and Nicolas Truong, *Une histoire du corps au Moyen Âge* (Paris: L. Levi, 2003) 69–74.

[7] Tommaso Bozio, *De signis ecclesiae Dei* (Cologne: J. Gymnich, 1592–1593) I, 831–844; the first edition is: Tommaso Bozio, *De signis ecclesiae Dei* (Rome: B. Bonfadini, 1591). Cfr. Christian Mouchel, 'Les nouveaux innocents. Étude iconographique de la *Madone du Rosaire* du Dominiquin' in: Christian Mouchel and Colette Nativel eds., *République des lettres, république des arts: mélanges offerts à Marc Fumaroli, de l'Académie Française* (Geneva: Droz, 2008) 193–246 (193–196, 206–209, 227–231).

[8] Angelo Rocca, *Discorso intorno alla virtù della patienza* (Rome: V. Accolti, 1588) 6–7.

[9] Obtaining the reward of martyrdom without, strictly speaking, undergoing martyrdom, is discussed by Cyprian, see Benvenuti, *Storia della santità*, 43–45. Going to one's death voluntarily while exercising Christian charity by, for example, taking care of the sick during a deadly epidemic, the so-called *martyrium caritatis*, was regularly the subject of debate but ultimately did not become an alternative for martyrdom in a canonical sense. Anna Egidia Catenaro, *Il concetto di martirio e la valutazione delle prove nelle cause dei Santi* (Rome: Pontificia Università Lateranense, 2004) 32–37.

of the spiritual exercises of the Oratory. Neri had his followers lash themselves with ropes three times per week.[10] A good Christian had to actively chastise his body, while God protected his body from deterioration. The better the Christian, the greater his suffering, and the more flawless his body would ultimately remain.

Sickness was a very frequently occurring physical tribulation. Neri was ill with great regularity. When Gallonio writes about his leader's poor state of health he suggests a salutary function of illness comparable to martyrdom. As Gallonio phrases it, each day God gave Neri anew the opportunity to obtain golden crowns.[11] The crown was the reward for those who had undergone martyrdom. The formulation is reminiscent of the example of Saint Anthony the Abbot, as described by Athanasius of Alexandria, in one of the *vitae* of eastern Mediterranean mystics to which Gallonio made regular reference in the *Vita* of Neri. After Antonius escaped the persecution of Christians by Maximinus (311), unlike Bishop Peter of Alexandria who was 'crowned with the glory of martyrdom', the abbot daily earned 'the martyrdom of faith and conscience' in his own monastery by subjecting himself to increasingly strict regimes of fasting and watches.[12] According to Gallonio, Neri contributed in a similar way almost daily to his ultimate glory without being killed by pagans or heretics. Neri welcomed illness cheerfully, and even with pleasure, as a gift from God.[13]

The same significance of sickness comes to the fore in the *vita* of Saint Carlo Borromeo, written by Carlo Bascapé, Bishop of Novara (1550–1615).[14]

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[10] Piero Camporesi, *The Anatomy of the Senses. Natural Symbols in Medieval and Early Modern Italy*, transl. Allan Cameron (Cambridge: Polity press, 1994 [Milan: Garzanti, 1985]) 64–72, 148–157, 169–181; Carlo Gasbarri, *L'Oratorio filippino (1552–1952)* (Rome: Istituto di studi romani, 1957) 31–32.

[11] 'novam Domino servo suo aurearum coronarum in dies materiam praebente,' Gallonio, *Vita beati patris*, 104. This metaphor does not appear in the Italian edition.

[12] 'Postquam autem persecutionis turbo defluxerat, & beato Episcopo Petro iam ob martyrii gloriam coronato, ad pristinum monasterium regressus, quotidianum fidei ac conscientiæ martyrium merebatur, acrioribus se ieiuniis vigiliisque conficiens', S. Athanasius, 'Vita S. Antonii Abbatis' in: Jean Bolland and Godefroy Henschen eds., *Acta Sanctorum. Januarii* II (Antwerp: J. Meursius, 1643) 121–141 (130).

[13] 'Aeger cum esset, etsi ad febrim acerrimi dolores accedebant, nulla tamen cura, ne minima quidem conficiebatur: gravitatem morbi, ut à Deo missi, non costanti solùm animo, sed libenti etiam ferebat', Gallonio, *Vita beati patris*, 104; 'certamente che non mostrò mai essendo malato, segnale alcuno di turbatione di animo; anzi si vedeva del continovo allegro,' Gallonio, *Vita del beato padre*, 99.

[14] It was Carlo Bascapé who collected testimonies relating to the life of Carlo Borromeo. Carlo Bascapé, *De vita et rebus gestis Caroli Borromaei* (Ingolstadt: D. Sartorius, 1592), published after the *vita* written by Agostino Valier (Verona: G. Discepolo, 1586) and the one by Giovanni Battista Possevino (Rome: G. Tornieri, 1591), is in a sense the first official

Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan who was canonized in 1610, is looked upon as the prototype of the Tridentine secular cleric.[15] Neri had known him personally, and had even seen his face transformed into that of an angel. From the moment that Borromeo resolved to devote himself entirely to the true religious life, according to Bascapé he wittingly ceased to take care of his own physical well-being and stopped taking physical exercise. The archbishop worked very hard, did not spare himself, and became sickly. In 1572, when departing from Milan for Rome, he was given six hundred pots of medicine by his physicians. Near Bologna the pack animal that was carrying the medicine fell in a river. Borromeo interpreted this as a sign from God and continued his journey unmoved. After this he paid no more attention to the opinions of medical men.[16] Borromeo did not repudiate the effectiveness of the advice they gave him about his weak constitution, but simply did not wish to pay any attention to it.

In the *Vita* of Neri, Gallonio gives more nuance to the picture of the relationship between the saint and the physician. Neri often followed the advice of doctors when suffering illness, even when this interfered temporarily with his spiritual activities. If his physicians forbade him to hear confession, or if they did not want him to celebrate mass, he submitted meekly to their advice.[17] However, at the end of his life during his last illness, Neri asked the doctors who were attending him to go away. The bloodlettings to which they had repeatedly subjected him had had no

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vita of the deceased cardinal, in view of the involvement of his cousin Federico Borromeo, archbishop between 1595 and 1631, and prelates such as Pietro Galesini, Francesco Bonomi, Alessandro Sauli and Giovanni Botero. Nevertheless, it was to be the *Vita di S. Carlo Borromeo prete cardinale* (Rome: Camera Apostolica, 1610) by Giovanni Pietro Giussano that was ultimately more to the taste of Archbishop Federico Borromeo and his Roman friends, including the Cardinals Cesare Baronio, Girolamo Pamphilj and Paolo Emilio Sfondrati. Giussani placed less emphasis on the political actions of Borromeo, which had not always served the centralist interests of the papal court, and more on the virtues and the miracles. Miguel Gotor, 'Agiografia e censura libraria: la Vita di san Carlo Borromeo' in: Paolo Golinelli ed., *Il pubblico dei santi. Forme e livelli di ricezione dei messaggi agiografici* (Rome: Viella, 2000) 193–226 (204–205, 211–217); Angelo Turchini, *La fabbrica di un santo: il processo di canonizzazione di Carlo Borromeo e la controriforma* (Casale Monferrato: Marietti, 1984) 32–33; Enrico Cattaneo, 'Introduzione' in: Carlo Bascapé, *Vita e opere di Carlo, arcivescovo di Milano, cardinale di S. Prassede*, ed. Enrico Cattaneo and transl. Giuseppe Fassi (Milan: Ven. Fabbrica del Duomo, 1965 [Ingolstadt: D. Sartorius, 1592]) xiv–xxxv (xxx–xxxi).

15 Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided, 1490–1700* (London: Allen Lane, 2003) 410–414.

16 Bascapé, *Vita e opere di Carlo*, 38–39, 218–223.

17 Gallonio, *Vita del beato padre*, 100 (Neri heard confession, at least when the doctors did not forbid it), 233 (for three days Neri did not celebrate mass because the doctors had advised against it).

effect. He told them that he had a better medicine, and had alms sent to various religious orders so that they would celebrate masses for him. Soon he was no longer short of breath or bringing up blood. The doctors were able to establish for themselves that he had been cured in a miraculous way and they quietly departed.[18] While in Bascapé's *vita* Borromeo simply rejected medical science at a given moment, in the *Vita* of Neri the physicians continue to do their work until it appeared to be pointless. Neri's impassiveness went so far that he continued to accept medical treatment until the superiority of his spiritual efforts could be denied no longer.

The saint neglected his own physical well-being, but took care of that of others. In the Oratory the physical care of the sick was a precondition for successful participation in group activities.[19] Shortly after the commencement of Neri's gatherings in his room in the San Girolamo della Carità from the 1550s onward, he dispatched his followers to the hospitals in Rome to assist in the care of sick paupers and pilgrims in city.[20] This was an exercise in both *caritas* and *humilitas*, virtues that merited the pious divine credit.[21] Despite their often being of distinguished descent, Neri's followers lowered themselves to tend to the hospitalized, who in general belonged to the poor and the needy.

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[18] 'Medicamenta, quibus utebantur, erant praeter cetera cucurbitulae: [...] abite vos hinc ait, remedia mea medicamentis vestris potiora sunt; ubi enim misi à prima luce, qui variis Religiosorum familiis eleemosynas distribueret, ut pro me Sacrum fieret, continuò vomitus sanguinis mansit, dolor praecordiorum, ac pectoris ex toto desiit, melius habui: deperditas vires recuperavi: tum accedentes medici ex venis, sputorumque quae ante expuerat, & quae tum expuebat, dissimilitudine, illum pristinae incolumitati restitutum, miraculo attoniti fatentur, ex illoque die ad obitum usque optima semper usus est valetudine.' Gallonio, *Vita beati patris*, 216–217; 'Adoprarono i medici [...] spezialmente le magnatte; [...] disse loro il B. Padre; Andate pur via voi altri perchè i miei rimedi sono molto più efficaci de'vostri, imperciochè havendo io questa mattina a buonissima hora mandato limosina a diverse Religioni, acciochè dicessero delle Messe, e pregassero per me, incontinente lo sputo del sangue, e l'affanno del petto cessarono; onde mi sento meglio, anzi parmi essere guarito: e toccando i medici il polso, e guardando gli sputi che faceva all'hora, e quelli, che poco fa haveva sputati, conobbero, e dissero ch'egli era (secondo haveva detto) guarito; il che hebbero per miracolo, e si sentì poi sempre bene insino alla morte, e levossi di letto.' Idem, *Vita del beato padre*, 235.

[19] Cfr. Maria Teresa Bonadonna Russo, 'Origine e sviluppo dell'Oratorio di San Filippo Neri', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 55 (2001) 3–17 (12–13).

[20] Gallonio, *Vita beati patris*, 41; idem, *Vita del beato padre*, 39–40.

[21] Mario Fois, 'La risposta confraternale alle emergenze sanitarie e sociali della prima metà del Cinquecento romano: le confraternite del Divino Amore e di S. Girolamo della Carità', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 41 (2003) 83–108 (98–106); Bonadonna Russo, 'Origine e sviluppo dell'Oratorio', 8–9; Andrea Carlino, 'L'Arciconfraternita di San Girolamo della Carità: l'origine e l'ideologia assistenziale', *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 107 (1984) 275–306 (303–306).

Gallonio described many instances in which Neri involved himself in the healing of the sick. One example is the healing of Prospero Crivelli, a Milanese nobleman who was lying mortally ill in bed in 1554. His physicians, though very capable in their field, could do nothing more for him. Neri went to Saint Peter's to pray for the man. Neri implored God to be allowed to take over Crivelli's illness. Crivelli did indeed recover, although Neri did not become sick. The readiness to undertake self-sacrifice, the appeal to be allowed to suffer, was what God desired in order to restore the patient's health. The physicians' efforts were inconsequential.[22]

Inexplicable disorders and cures were seized upon by the clergy to lay claim to authority in caring for the sick.[23] The supernatural disorder was a test. The accompanying healing was a question of faith, not of intellect. The contrast between the unfathomable divine will and the human capacity to control the world manifested itself even more prominently in miraculous healing than in the juridical conflicts over spontaneously occurring cults. Neither the *ars medica*, nor the ecclesiastical authorities were able to comprehend the mechanisms of supernatural sickness and healing with their human powers of reasoning.[24] Scholars and clerics could merely document such cases, and that was a task to which Gallonio acquitted himself with dedication. Downplaying the efficacy of medical science and emphasizing the intervention of God contributed both to the edification of lay readers and to the legal recognition of Neri's sainthood.

Edification and Medical Scholarship in the Vita *of Neri*

The difference between the Latin and the Italian versions of the *Vita* of Neri really stands out where healings are concerned. The Italian *Vita* was not merely a translation but a completely different text. Gallonio often used different testimonies as source texts for the Latin and the Italian editions. Sometimes he is more precise in the Italian version. When describing the healing of the diarrhoea of the Neapolitan priest Ottavio Rositano, for example, Gallonio confines himself in Latin to the statement that the patient took water that had been in contact with a relic of Neri. In the Italian edition that followed a year later Gallonio specifies precisely how Rositano had prepared this sacred remedy: he had drunk water that con-

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[22] Gallonio, *Vita beati patris*, 42–43; idem, *Vita del beato padre*, 41–42.

[23] David Gentilcore, *Healers and Healing in Early Modern Italy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998) 10–12, 16–17, 157–161.

[24] See the argumentation of doctors such as Cesalpino, Vittori and Codronchi in § 4.2.

tained some of Neri's hair.[25] In general, however, Gallonio is much more comprehensive and detailed in the Latin edition than in the Italian edition, at the expense of effective impact.

The two accounts of Patrizio Patrizi's recovery from abdominal pain epitomize the grounds for this variation. The nobleman Patrizi had successfully invoked the help of Neri for the pain in his intestines. In the Latin version Gallonio writes that Patrizi appealed to the saint *in his thoughts*. In the Italian text the author states that the nobleman spoke to Neri *with his heart*.[26] Throughout the two versions the Oratorian addresses his readers' heads and hearts, respectively. In the Latin version Gallonio adopts the technical, sometimes extensive descriptions of syndromes, diagnoses and prognoses from the more learned witnesses. But in the Italian one he chooses elements that appeal more to the feelings of the reader.

The Italian edition is not only more oriented towards the emotions than the Latin edition, it is also more circumspect and prudish. This is apparent in the account of the healing of the high-born girl Caterina Ruiz, who in 1592 suffered a swelling on her nose, probably as the result of syphilis. In their depositions for the canonization trial, witnesses spoke of a swelling, or of scabs that formed firstly on the inside and subsequently on the outside of her nose. According to Caterina's mother, the attending physician had described the disorder as a scab consisting of malignant, salty liquid. Giovanni Battista Crivelli, Caterina's uncle, and Pedro Ruiz, her brother, linked her complaint with the visit of someone who had had syphilis.[27] This disease, which had manifested itself as an intractable epi-

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[25] 'mox aquam, quam eius reliquiae attigerant, bibens morbo confestim idoneum remedium invenit', Gallonio, *Vita beati patris*, 255; 'ricuperò in pochi dì con capelli del Beato Filippo, i quali con acqua bevè, la desiderata sanità.' Idem, *Vita del beato padre*, 267.

[26] 'increscentibus stomachi, seu intestinorum doloribus, quibus laborabat, mori metueret, ad Beatum Patrem mente confugit, eius opem implorat', Gallonio, *Vita beati patris*, 183. 'essendo una notte fieramente assalito da dolori colici, o di stomaco, e sentendosegli del continovo crescere, e notabilmente, cominciò fra sè a dubitare della sua vita; onde ricorrendo all'aiuto del Beato Padre, in cui grandissima fede haveva, così col cuore seco disse; Padre Filippo aiutatemi, e pregate per me', idem, *Vita del beato padre*, 195–196. Patrizio Patrizi came from Siena, was married to Pantesilea Crescenzi, lived in Rome and there, partly as *guardiano* of the San Giacomo degli Incurabili, devoted his efforts to the needy. He was spokesman for the Grand Duke of Tuscany and in this capacity thanked Neri for his felicitations to the brand new Grand Duke Ferdinand I De'Medici in 1587. Antonio Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri, l'Oratorio e la Congregazione oratoriana. Storia e spiritualità* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 1989) I, 537.

[27] Giovanni Battista Crivelli, Caterina's uncle, describes the sickness as follows: 'croste al naso di brutissima specie, et, per alcuni giorni, senza trovarci remedio, con qualche sospitione di mal cattivo, perchè in casa, vi era uno, che haveva le medeme croste, et era infettato di mal francese', Giovanni Incisa della Rocchetta and Nello Vian eds., *Il primo*

demic around 1500 in the wake of the itinerant armies of mercenaries of the kings of France and Spain, had been attributed to immoral behavior since the early sixteenth century.[28]

For the edifying nature of the Italian version of the *Vita* of Neri, Gallonio chose to avoid the suggestion that the girl had contracted her complaint through sexual intercourse with a visitor. The author keeps it vague: it was not improbable that Caterina's disorder was highly virulent in view of the fact that someone who had been suffering a terrible sickness had stayed at the house shortly before she became afflicted. The implication is that the guest in the Ruiz household had infected the girl, but Gallonio does not say how. He goes on to describe how, after a year, Caterina's mother sent the girl to Neri. The Florentine touched her nose and said that she would be sick no longer. At his touch the symptoms of the disease began to disappear, and several days later the girl was cured completely.[29] In the Latin *Vita*, however, Gallonio states explicitly that it was feared that Caterina Ruiz had contracted *lues*, a term meaning 'infectious disease' that in this period was associated with syphilis.[30]

In the Latin version Gallonio also goes more deeply into the nature of Ruiz's disease. He calls the scabs that filled her nostrils *cacoethes*, a term that does not appear in the testimonies but that he himself con-

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processo per San Filippo Neri nel Codice Vaticano Latino 3798 e in altri esemplari dell'archivio dell'Oratorio di Roma (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1957–1963), I, 121 [G.B. Crivelli]; Pedro Ruiz, her brother: 'il naso tutto gonfio et dubitavamo che non fosse mal cattivo, perchè in casa, ci era una persona che ne pativa di mal francese', ibid., I, 233 [P. Ruiz]; Virginia Crivelli, the girl's mother: 'un male dentro al naso, et veniva ancor di fuora, che era una crosta con humor salso et crosta cattiva, che 'l medico diceva che era humor salso et cattivo', ibid., I, 336 [V. Crivelli Ruiz]; Caterina Ruiz herself: 'un male, qui al naso, che faceva le croste dentro e di fuora', ibid., I, 337 [C. Ruiz].

[28] Giorgio Cosmacini, *Storia della medicina e della sanità in Italia* (Rome: Laterza, 2005[9] [1987]) 76–79; Roy Porter, *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind. A Medical History of Humanity from Antiquity to Present* (London: HarperCollins, 1997) 174–176.

[29] 'un'infermità molesta, e di cattiva spezie secondo che sospettevano molti, e ragionevolmente, essendo stato in casa sua alloggiato uno, che simile infermità haveva [...] Furono chiamati i medici, e date varie medicine; ma ogni aiuto era nullo, perchè quantunque paresse alle volte che'l male del naso si partisse; tuttavia tornava di nuovo a rinascere come prima faceva. [...] Hora vedendola Filippo le toccò per compassione il naso dicendole; horsù figliuola, tu non haverai più male; non sarà niente; e incontinente ch'egli la toccò, incominciò il male ad andarsene via, e doppo non molti dì così ne rimase perfettamente sana com se mai da quella infermità non fusse stata travagliata, e niuna molestia più ne ricevè.' Gallonio, *Vita del beato padre*, 213–214.

[30] At the end of the sixteenth century the term *lues venerea* became current as the designation for syphilis, instead of *morbus gallicus*, the 'French disease'. Jon Arrizabalaga, John Henderson and Roger French, *The Great Pox: The French Disease in Renaissance Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997) 4–6, 18, 234–244.

sidered applicable.[31] The word *cacoethes* means 'malignant tumor in an early stage' and appears with this meaning in the *De medicina* by Celsus and in the *Historiae naturalis* by Pliny the Elder. Gallonio had both works in his possession.[32] According to Celsus the *cacoethes* was the first phase of an intumescence that protruded, growing from within the body, and that in subsequent phases could develop into a fatal tumor. This sort of swelling occurred only in the upper parts of the body: the nose, the ears, the lips, and in women's breasts.[33] This certainly recalls the lump from which Caterina Ruiz was suffering, judging from the depositions of her relatives. On page 198 of Gallonio's copy of Celsus' *De re medica*, which is littered with notes, the word *cacoethes* is underlined in ink.[34] Gallonio appears to have made a diagnosis himself, with the help of Celsus. In the Latin version of the healing of Caterina he was thus more concerned with the medical framework than in the Italian version, for which he preferred a smooth and elevating narrative above technical detail.

There are more instances in which Gallonio subtly manipulated the material available to him. This is the case for the two healings in quick succession in the summer of 1595 of Abbot Marcantonio Maffa, who subsequently insisted on hanging a lamp at Neri's grave out of gratitude and devotion, causing upheaval in the Oratory. Maffa suffered severe pain as the result of kidney stones, and a year later the abbot gave a detailed report of this in his testimony for Neri's canonization process. After a meal in the Quirinal Palace he began to experience terrible pain, which kept him awake all night. According to Maffa this was the result of drinking too much cool wine and water. Unusually, the pain did not diminish after he had vomited and warmed himself at the stove. He turned to an image of Neri that he had in his room, and asked the dead priest to intercede for him. Maffa subsequently fell asleep, and when he awoke an hour later to urinate he passed a stone that was the size of a bean. According to Maffa,

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31 'Puellae annorum novem Catherinae Ruissae nomine crustulae quaedam cacoethe, hoc est mali moris nares occuparant, non absque pravae luis suspicione, quippe cum domo nuper exceptus fuisset, qui eisdem infectus pariter laborabat', Gallonio, *Vita beati patris*, 198–199.

32 Peter G.W. Glare ed., *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982) 246; respectively ASR, Notai A.C. Vol. 66 ff. 110ro and 113vo.

33 Aulus Cornelius Celsus, *De medicina*, ed. and transl. W.G. Spencer (London: Heinemann, 1961–1971 [repr. of London: Heinemann, 1935–1938]) II, 128–131.

34 The copy in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana that had belonged to Gallonio is Aulus Cornelius Celsus, *De re medica libri octo* (Venice: G. Scoto, 1566), with the shelf mark: VI.5.A.16. The word *cacoethes* is underlined by hand at: ibid., 198 and in the index.

passing kidney stones of such a size was an extremely painful process that would normally last three to four days.[35]

This account of Maffa, with much pathological detail, is elaborated by Gallonio in different ways in the Italian and the Latin versions of the *Vita* of Neri, in accordance with their divergent functions. In the Italian *Vita* Gallonio gives a faithful summary of Maffa's report, particularly with respect to the miraculous elements: the lack of improvement after vomiting and warming and, as a result of the supplications to Neri, the exceptionally swift and painless passing of what appeared to have been an unnaturally large kidney stone.[36] In the Latin version Gallonio devotes more attention to Maffa's affliction. Here, the author stresses that since previous stones in Maffa's kidneys had always been smaller but, in spite of this, had taken longer to expel, the rapidity with which this large stone had left Maffa's body was truly remarkable. The priest adds that previous kidney stones had made the urine feel hot and acrid, and inflamed the bladder.[37] In this manner, Gallonio included more medical specifics and even added a pathological detail himself.

This is not an isolated instance. Gallonio performed a similar intervention in the second healing about which the abbot testified. This time Maffa, fasting after mass, drank some cold water. That night he experienced a chill, followed by a high fever and deep sleep or lethargy, *lettargo*. Neither bleeding nor other remedies proved effective. On the contrary, the abbot remained weak and the doctors feared for his life. Later, Neri appeared in a dream, and shouted angrily: 'Save the abbot.' The following day Maffa actually felt better.[38] In the Latin *Vita* Gallonio uses the term

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[35] Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, II, 93–94 [M.A. Maffa].

[36] 'nè per vomito, nè per caldo, che usava d'una stufa; che simili remedi altre volte giovamento grandissimo gli solevano arrecare: [. . .] mandò fuori una pietra della grossezza di un fagiuolo, maggior d'ogni altra, che per altri tempi havesse fatta mai: della qual cosa maravigliossi egli molto, e spezialmente vedendosi liberato così tosto, cosa che mai in così fatta malattia non gli era intervenuta.' Gallonio, *Vita del beato padre*, 255.

[37] 'rei exitum tam celerem miratur Maffa, & hoc maior eum cepit admiratio, quòd dum ei contingebat ex calculo laborare, calculus quamquam hoc ipso minor, tamen cum à renibus divellebatur, hominem plus duobus diebus excrucians ad vesicam tandem descendebat, ex quo & calida, atque acris urina, & vesicae inflammatio fiebat, tum demum duobus, vel tribus elapsis diebus is calculus exibat.' Gallonio, *Vita beati patris*, 239.

[38] 'havendo il medesimo doppo haver detto la messa bevuta a digiuna dell'acqua fresca, si sentì all'improviso in sù'l crescere della Luna assalire prima da un freddo grande, e poi da una febre pestilentiale con lettargo; la cui forza fù tale, che ne sangue trattone, ne altro rimedio usato la potè rimovere, ò in parte alcuna raffrenare, anzi continovando sempre, s'incominciò à dubitare della sua vita. In questo mentre hebbe il Maffa una notte nel dormire questa visione. [. . .] udì il B. P. che isdegnato [. . .] gridasse dicendo: Salvate Abbatem;

'λήθαργον' for the sickness, for good measure adding that this is Greek. He emphasizes that neither vomiting nor any other form of discharge helped, and that it was for this reason that Maffa's physicians were so concerned. He adds that it was not a dry ailment but one 'full of liquid', a remark that does not appear in the testimonies. The author thus gives substance to the doctors' anxieties, stemming directly from Galen's theories of humorism. Under normal circumstances, the medical treatments that were applied, such as vomiting, bloodletting and other forms of draining of fluids, should have been effective as they removed excessive humors. By stressing that the regular medical procedures had failed to take effect, Gallonio left no room to interpret Maffa's recovery other than as the result of miraculous intercession by Neri.[39]

The medical profession had become increasingly involved in canonization trials since 1300. The role of medical practitioners was principally negative: their expertise served not to diagnose the *miracolati*, but to give evidence of their own inadequacy. That a cure was miraculous was at its clearest if a phenomenon could not be explained by medical knowledge.[40] The interested parties in a canonization process actively sought such expert witnesses. In the trial of Neri, for instance, this was obvious from the healing of Ottavio Rositano by means of Neri's hair, mentioned above. This miracle appears in a group of Neapolitan testimonies, a copy of which ended up in the archives of the Oratory. In the margin a note urges the procurement of the deposition of a physician testifying to Rositano's recovery.[41]

That the clergy needed the medical profession, but mainly to declare its own incompetence, becomes very visible in one of the last healings that Neri is said to have performed during his life. The patient, Barsum,

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Salvate Abbatem; doppo le quali parole si trovò egli fuori di così manifesto pericolo. Ne fù vana la visione; imperoche il giorno vegnente fù perfettamente risanato, che nessun segno vi rimase d'infermità,' Gallonio, *Vita del beato padre*, 255–256.

39 'poculum aquae frigidae ieiunus exhausisset, eo poto, horrore primùm, deinde pestilenti febre, cui continens somnus, λήθαργον Graeci nominant, accesserat, premi coepit: fuit morbi initium luna crescente: illud praeterea aegrum à periculo non abesse indicabat, quòd neque vomitu, neque alvi ductione, neque alio modo, vi somni, qua opprimebatur, capitisque dolore, quo afflictabatur, se vel minimum levari sentiebat. Interea cum de medicorum consilio sanguinem sibi incisa vena detrahi pateretur, nec ea missio sanguinis quicquam prodesset, de eius vita ab ipsis medicis dubitari coeptum est, quandoquidem aeger natura non siccus, sed succi plenus erat: Nocte adventante confugiens Maffa ad Philippi opem tale mox vidit insomnium.' Gallonio, *Vita beati patris*, 240.

40 Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 469–470.

41 'Deponat medicus', ACO Vol. A.IV.15 f. 589ro; see also Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, IV, 124–125.

Archdeacon of Alexandria, had come to Rome during the pontificate of Clement VIII for meetings relating to a union between the Catholic and the Coptic churches. In the autumn of 1594 Barsum fell victim to what would normally have been a fatal illness.[42] He coughed up blood, had difficulty breathing, had a fever and could not sleep. During the canonization trial of Neri three years later, Girolamo Vecchietti, a Florentine companion of the Egyptian, gave an extensive description of what the physicians had asserted. Their diagnosis had been that the 'capillary arteries' in Barsum's liver and heart had burst, and they had anticipated that he would die within six weeks. They had suggested as a remedy that Barsum should return with all haste to his native country, as the Egyptian air had been known since time immemorial to have a curative effect on the airways.[43] In the Latin edition of the *Vita*, Gallonio reproduced the syndrome and the diagnosis in detail, including the burst 'capillaries' in the organs. He kept things more succinct in the Italian edition, with an indication of the symptoms (bringing up blood, coughing, respiratory problems, and fever).[44]

The healing of Barsum took place in two phases, in each of which Neri intervened. The first phase was a stabilization of Barsum's condition. Witnesses testified that although the Egyptian had lain awake for several days as a result of his excruciating symptoms, he had fallen asleep at the exact moment that Neri prayed for him during the celebration of the Eucharist.[45] The immediate healing of the sick after the saint's intercession was a well-known theme in the structure of miraculous healing.[46] In the *Vita*, Gallonio emphasized the simultaneity of the Eucharist and the stabilization of Barsum's condition, verified by observers who had com-

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[42] See for the miraculous cure of Barsum: Jetze Touber, 'Phthisis My Blood. Blood as an Element of Health and Devotion in Tridentine Hagiography' in: Catrien Santing and Jetze Touber eds., *Blood, Symbol, Liquid* (Louvain: Peeters, 2012) 157–176.

[43] Ibid., II, 181 [G. Vecchietti].

[44] 'is erat morbus, ut aeger sanguinem spueret, qui medicorum iudicio ex ruptis venis capillaribus, pulmoni, vel hepati iunctis exibat: Accedebant ad haec febris, tussis frequens, & spirandi difficultas, quae aegrotum mirum in modum vexabant: frequens tussis sanguinem extrudebat: nocturna praeterea, diurnaque vigilia premebatur: somnus, quod pessimus est, neque noctu, neque interdiu accedebat.' Gallonio, *Vita beati patris*, 211; 'una infermità mortale di sputo di sangue con tossa, e impedimento di respiratione, febre, e vigilia; onde non poteva dormire, nè posare nè di dì, nè di notte,' Gallonio, *Vita del beato padre*, 229–230.

[45] Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, II, 181 [G. Vecchietti].

[46] Gentilcore, *Healers and Healing*, 187–188; in the canonization process of Carlo Borromeo in the event of a miraculous healing it was always asked whether healing had occurred immediately: Turchini, *La fabbrica di un santo*, 72–73.

pared the exact points in time. In the Latin version, moreover, Gallonio laid extra emphasis on the blood by expressly reporting that Barsum had fallen asleep as Neri took a sip from the chalice (rather than consuming the Host).[47]

The second phase, the actual healing, took place in a supernatural manner, too. According to the testimonies, Neri had embraced Barsum, upon which the Egyptian had felt his strength return. The fits of coughing had ceased, and the fever had disappeared. At the same time he had broken out in a sweat, a standard element in the hagiographical reworking of miraculous healings taken from Galenic medicine. Medical therapies in the Middle Ages and in the early modern period were based on the recovery of the balance in the four humors by removing an excess of bodily fluids, for example by means of blood letting. A spontaneous emission of liquid, such as breaking out in a sweat, was therefore a logical element indicating a miraculous cure.[48]

Any excessive fluids that lingered on might suggest that the cure had not been instantaneous, and therefore natural, rather than miraculous. In the *Vita*, therefore, Gallonio added a detail from the testimony of Vecchietti. Barsum had continued to bring up blood after Neri's embrace, but that had had been produced in earlier coughing fits. It was blood that had descended deep into his chest, and it had come up only after the cure.

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47 'Hieronymus Vecchiettus, qui aegrotanti assidebat, ad Philippum confugit, & quem paratum iam ad sacrificium, & calicem tenentem in manibus invenit, rogat, Archidiaconi Alexandrini gravissimè laborantis meminisse velit: Pollicetur ille se oraturum pro eo. O rem dictu mirabilem! Ubi primùm Deo sacrificium offerre coepit, extemplò aeger (ut postea temporibus inter se collatis intellectum est) dulci corripitur somno, ut simul B. Pater celebraret, & Archidiaconus post longam vigiliam dormiret, dormivitque ad horas aliquot: somno experrectus melius habere sensit.' Gallonio, *Vita beati patris*, 211; 'Girolamo Vecchietti, il quale mandato da Nostro Signore in Alessandria per la sopradetta unione, l'haveva menato seco à Roma, venne tostamente al B.P. e trovandolo che parato alla Messa all'hora voleva entrare all'Altare, gliene raccomandò molto, il quale promise di voler pregare per lui. Cosa grande! Nello stesso tempo ch'egli diceva la Messa, nell'istesso appunto l'infermo prese sonno: la qual cosa si seppe per questa via; imperoche facendosi conto dell'hora, trovossi che in quel tempo appunto l'Archidiacono s'addormentò, nel quale Filippo celebrava; e dormì doppo una lunga vigilia, alcune hore, e destatosi si sentì migliorato.' Gallonio, *Vita del beato padre*, 230.

48 'Et, havendomi il padre, […], abbracciato et tenuto stretto, quando mi lasciò, io mi sentii sudare et fortificare. […] mi basciò et abbracciò più volte, […] Et, in quello instante, sudai, et mi sentii rinforzarmi', Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, II, 177–178 [Barsum]. For the purification as *topos* in hagiographical literature: Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 445. For the medical usage of bloodletting: Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: an Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990) 137–141. For the connection between medical and supernatural purging: Gentilcore, *Healers and Healing*, 183.

In this way, Gallonio anticipated and dispelled possible doubts caused by the blood that the Egyptian had coughed up after Neri's embrace.[49]

The healing of Barsum clearly shows how Gallonio incorporated both the spiritual and the medical approach to sickness in his *Vita*, in order to demonstrate the superiority of the former over the latter. On the one hand he continually exhibits the same preoccupations that occupy physicians. He spells out the symptoms of Barsum's complaint. He describes their prognosis. He reports on the observations that demonstrated that Neri had celebrated mass and that Barsum's disease had stabilized simultaneously. He expresses the eventual healing in terms of a Galenic purge. On the other hand, Gallonio links these occurrences with the symbolism of the liturgy. Gallonio compares the blood that Barsum lost to the blood of Christ that Neri consumed during the Eucharist. The crux of this miraculous healing is the salvation of Barsum through the agency of the sacrifice of Christ's blood.[50] In this healing Neri fulfilled an essential role as intermediary. Gallonio collected snippets of information from the compiled testimonies and from this drew up a report. In doing so he stood with one foot in empirical reality and the other in devotional symbolism.

Gallonio made conscious choices in his descriptions of clinical syndromes and healings. The procedures were subtle. In general, Gallonio stuck closely to the original witness testimonies. His own input was often limited to the selection of passages from these testimonies. However, he sometimes made diagnoses himself. The extent of technical detail depended on whether he was writing in Latin or Italian, and he introduced scholarly terms and pathological details in the Latin edition. Gallonio played with medical concepts and explanatory models, although he never ventured deeper into the world of medicine than was strictly necessary for his hagiographical purposes. He had no special medical expertise at his disposal, but made use of that of trained physicians when it suited him.

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[49] 'sputo sanguinis liberatur, quòd si quid eius post excrevit, id fuit, quod iam antea in pectus descenderat, quod mittere opus erat.' Gallonio, *Vita beati patris*, 212; 'dall'hora innanzi non sputò più sangue, eccetto quello che di già era calato al petto, il quale bisognava venisse fuori.' Idem, *Vita del beato padre*, 230. This detail comes from the testimony of Girolamo Vecchietti: Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, II, 182 [G. Vecchietti].

[50] Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: the Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) 12–35, 302–316.

4.2 *Gallonio and the Physicians*

In the second half of the sixteenth century the inhabitants of Rome were ill more often than not; this is the impression created by the *Vita* of Neri. They were not only sick in body, but also sick in mind and soul. Patients were able to turn to a range of healers: physicians, clerics, or unschooled practitioners such as barber-surgeons and midwives. Because of the limited efficacy of medical treatments, the charismatic saint and the trained physician were equal competitors when it came to healing. The actions they carried out—uroscopies and bleeding by doctors, prayers and the laying on of hands by priests—may have had comparable effects.[51] As a consequence, patients often called for the help of the priest Neri when they feared for their lives. As the physician Girolamo Cardella conceded to Pietro Consolini in 1592 when a patient, whom he had given up, recovered against all expectations after Neri's intercession: 'You have physicians in your house of a different quality than we are.'[52] The therapeutic superiority of clerics occasioned frequent references to the medical profession that they transcended.

Gallonio introduced individual physicians into the *Vita* of Neri in a framework dictated by procedural demands, as is apparent from the case of Fabio Apicella. This Neapolitan medical practitioner had himself been troubled with exceptionally painful kidney stones and had ceased taking medication for them. Apicella passed a stone the size of a pine nut, after only having touched Neri's hair. In a testimony for the canonization process, Apicella himself gave a brief, factual account of what had happened.[53] According to the Latin edition of Gallonio's *Vita* of Neri, Apicella had stated that he was amazed that his healing had been effected not by human expertise, but by divine powers.[54] However, this does not appear in Apicella's testimony. Gallonio's formulation 'non humana arte,

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[51] Jean-Michel Sallmann, *Naples et ses saints à l'âge baroque (1540–1750)* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1994) 348; Gentilcore, *Healers and Healing*, 1–29; Roy Porter, 'The patient's view: doing medical history from below', *Theory and Society* 14 (1985) 175–198 (189–194).

[52] 'Voi havete in casa, [...], medici di altra qualità, che non siamo noi', Gallonio, *Vita del beato padre*, 217; for Pietro Consolini see A. Foa, 'Consolini, Pietro', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* XXVIII (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1983) 51–52.

[53] Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, IV, 134 [F. Apicella].

[54] 'doloris talis erat impetus, ut eum omni prorsus quiete privaret: ergo humanis remediis spretis, ut quae nihil morbo prodessent Beati Philippi capillos affectae parti admovet; nec id sanè frustra: Calculus extemplò ad vesicam descendit, dolor omnis evanescit, urina nullo impedimento redditur, calculo iter patet, erat is pineae nucis magnitudinem explens.

sed divina prorsus ope' fits in precisely with the criteria that Angelo Rocca summarized for the acceptance of a miracle for the purposes of the canonization of a saint. The miracle had to demonstrably transcend human skills: 'non ex arte'.[55] Gallonio adapted the physician's formulation in such a way that it became a statement of the powerlessness of medicine, and thus relevant to the juridical procedure.

The Oratory was often visited by medical professionals, who either partook in devotional exercises, or tended to the Oratorians themselves.[56] Gallonio appears to have had a good sense of the dynamics of the medical sphere, such as the rivalries among physicians, pharmacists and surgeons. Accordingly, he adapted the two versions of the *Vita* of Neri to the social differentiation of medical expertise. Illustrative of this is his description of the illness of Artemisia Cheli, a girl who had a swelling on her underarm, which, in her testimony, she herself referred to as a lump (*natta*). Gallonio states in the Latin edition: 'doctors call this sort of ailment a *ganglion* or cyst', which in the Italian edition he changed to: 'called a cyst or *natta* by the surgeons'.[57] Thus, he called upon the authority of the expert with whom the public was most familiar: readers of Latin were presented with a doctor, educated in university, readers of Italian with a surgeon, trained as a craftsman. This shows his awareness of differentiation within the medical profession, even if such subtleties were aimed at stressing the primacy of the clergy.

Repeatedly, medical professionals themselves assisted in invalidating their own expertise by declaring ailments and healings to be supernatural. The renowned Florentine Andrea Cesalpino (1525ca.–1603), active in Rome, was one of the physicians that issued written statements about

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Quibus ille attonitus id non humana arte, sed divina prorsus ope, nempe B. viri intercessione factum esse publico testimonio confirmavit.' Gallonio, *Vita beati patris*, 257.

[55] Rocca, *De canonizatione Sanctorum*, 16.

[56] Enzo Fagiolo, 'Malattie e medici di S. Filippo Neri', *Strenna dei romanisti* 64 (2003) 295–306; Catrien Santing, *'De affectibus cordis et palpitatione*: secrets of the heart in counter-reformation Italy' in: Willem de Blécourt and Cornelie Usborne eds., *Cultural Approaches to the History of Medicine. Mediating Medicine in Early Modern and Modern Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004) 11–35 (14, 19, 24–29).

[57] 'Artemisiae Cheliae durum ac renitens tuberculum in sinistræ manus articulo ortum erat: id morbi genus ganglion medici seu nodum vocant.' Gallonio, *Vita beati patris*, 231–232; 'Ad Artemisia Cheli nacque nella giuntura della mano sinistra un'enfiatura, nodo, o natta da'Cirurgici nominata,' idem, *Vita del beato padre*, 248–249; Artemisia herself called the swelling a *gomma*, a lump: 'ritrovandome io una gomma, qui alla giontura della mano et il braccio', Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, I, 340 [A. Cheli]; Cesare Baronio described Artemisia's complaint as a 'gomma, over tubero', ibid., I, 405 [C. Baronio].

the palpitations, broken ribs and high temperature that Neri suffered from. In 1597 he recognized not only the possibility that some illnesses were caused by God, he also underpinned this with a reference to one of the most authoritative medical writers of pagan Antiquity, Hippocrates. Cesalpino placed such instances entirely outside the competency of the medical world.[58] Two years later he was even more explicit. Many phenomena had physical causes, as Cesalpino explained, and these were natural. However, if something was the immediate result of divine origin, with no contributions from 'secondary' physical causes, then it was 'supernatural' and not 'ours to investigate'.[59] The medical literature with which he was thoroughly familiar induced him to conclude that his expertise was inadequate as regarded such divine interventions in the course of nature.

Angelo Vittori (1547–1640ca), formerly *archiater* (personal physician) to Gregory XIII and after 1585 the personal physician of Neri, expressed himself in a vein similar to that of Cesalpino.[60] Vittori published his report of the autopsy of the deceased Neri in 1613. In it, he states that ailments always have a divine cause, insofar as all manner of external circumstances, such as the sun and the wind, are created by God. Most illnesses also have a human component, because they are dependent on individual human predispositions. Some complaints and their subsequent healing can, however, be described as truly divine (*divinus*) in view of the fact that their causes, their symptoms and their remedies completely transcend the usual natural powers and effects. Vittori refers to two authoritative works, namely *De morbo sacro* by the same Hippocrates and the *Summa theologica* by Thomas Aquinas.[61] Here an expert in medicine appeals to

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[58] Ibid., III, 437–439 [A. Cesalpino]. For Cesalpino, see A. Ferrari, 'Cesalpino, Andrea' in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* XXIV (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1980) 122–125.

[59] 'quae alia excogitari possit, quam divinum quid, quod supra naturam vocamus? [...], si quae autem immediate pendeant a causa divina, non intercedentibus causis secundis, non est nostrum investigare: qui enim verbo omnia fecit, non eget mediis naturalibus.' Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, II, 222–225 [A. Cesalpino]. In this way he aligned with Canon Law, which in the thirteenth century established that a miracle was an intervention by God, which sidelined knowable 'causae secundae', Maria Wittmer-Butsch and Constanze Rendtel, *Miracula: Wunderheilungen im Mittelalter: eine historisch-psychologische Annäherung* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2003) 20–21.

[60] Ibid., I, 152 [A. Vittori]; Gallonio, *Vita del beato padre*, 186; U.M. Lang, 'The Miracle of St. Philip Neri in the Palazzo Massimo', *Annales Oratorii* 2 (2003) 87–108 (102); Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, I, 236 and II, 911, 968.

[61] 'censet Hippocrates* [in the margin: *l. de morbo sacro*] omnes morbos simul esse divinos, & humanos. Divinos quidem quatenus causas divinas habent, ut solem, ventos,

a combination of medical and theological authorities to sideline his own profession. This goes to show how easily disciplinary boundaries were transgressed in this period.

Cesalpino and Vittori made these statements in treatises that served to support the canonization of one of their own former patients. However, such assertions were not merely instrumental in serving the interests of canonization. When physicians were not directly involved with ecclesiastical affairs, they conceded that certain medical conditions were better left to the Church to deal with. Giovanni Battista Codronchi (1547–1628), a doctor from Imola, wrote a book in 1595 about magical spells that could damage human health. He saw the Church as the only authority that could do anything about this.[62] Cesalpino too had at some time examined the same subject in his *Investigatio peripatetica daemonum*, published in 1580, long before he had anything to do with the Oratory.[63] The reason for writing this small work was the examination that 'theologians, philosophers and doctors' had set up on the instructions of Archbishop Pietro Giacomo Borbone of Pisa (1540–1575) into the demonic possession of several young religious women. The experts, representatives of both the clergy and the medical profession, had to determine on the basis of physical symptoms whether they were dealing with natural or supernatural causes. This was a situation comparable to the investigation of Orsola Benincasa in 1582, in which Neri participated (see § 3.2). In his treatise Cesalpino argued that demonic possession was a condition that manifested itself in both the soul and the body. In this case, incidentally, he argued that treatment required both religious exorcists and medical practitioners.[64]

& reliqua à Deo creata. Humanos verò, quatenus unusquisque naturam, & vim in se ipso habet, & propriam aliquam curationem. Si verò aliqui simpliciter Divini futuri sint [...], eos tantum esse iudicat, qui neque causas habent, ut reliqui, neque curationem eamdem, neque naturam. Illi enim effectus re vera supranaturales, & Divini sunt, qui ab ea causa fiunt, quae naturalis causae vires, & facultatem excedunt,* [in the margin: *ex D. Thom. 1. parte q. 105. artic. 7. & 8.*]', Angelo Vittori, *De palpitatione cordis, fractura costarum, aliisque affectionibus B. Philippi Nerii Congregationis Oratorii fundatoris. Qua ostenditur praedictas affectiones fuisse super naturam* (Rome: Camera Apostolica, 1613) 7.

62 Gentilcore, *Healers and Healing*, 23–24. For Codronchi: C. Colombero, 'Codronchi, Giovan Battista' in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* XXVI (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1982) 122–125.

63 Andrea Cesalpino, *Daemonum investigatio peripatetica: in qua explicatur locus Hippocratis in Progn. "Si quid divinum in morbis habetur"* (Florence: Giunti, 1580).

64 Mark Edward Clark and Kirk M. Summer, 'Hippocratic medium and Aristotelian science in the "Daemonum investigatio peripatetica" by Andrea Cesalpino', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 69 (1995) 527–541. The examination must have taken place between May 17, 1574 and December 2, 1575, the dates of the beginning and end of the period that

In some matters of physical health the clergy unequivocally claimed primacy, for example in the case of disastrous epidemics. The advice from the medical profession sometimes conflicted with what the clergy would have enjoined on their flocks. Above we have seen Carlo Borromeo's recalcitrant attitude towards his medical advisors, as sketched by Bascapé. During a major epidemic of the plague in northern Italy in 1576, which hit Milan very badly, the archbishop maintained his dismissive attitude regarding the medical profession. In sermons in which he used medical metaphors, Borromeo told believers that they had brought the plague upon themselves as a result of their sinful behavior; immoral conduct was infectious, and moral decay went hand in hand with bodily decay. He organized processions in order to humbly entreat God to forgive the people of Milan, although the administrative office responsible for public health in the city recognized the danger of infection and much preferred that such a mass gathering would not take place.[65] The archbishop ordered accounts of saints' lives to be printed and distributed among the population for their edification and moral support. Borromeo found the *Vita* of Saint Dionysius of Alexandria a particularly instructive example for the suffering Milanese. Under Bishop Dionysius the inhabitants of Alexandria had willingly undergone epidemics as a form of martyrdom.[66] Pious endurance triumphed over the medical urgency to limit contagion.

Up to a certain point medical and spiritual authority cooperated, but in exceptional circumstances the former had to give way to the latter. In response to the plague epidemic of 1576, several publications appeared about the terrifying disease. Books by the papal physician Michele Mercati and by Bishop Marco Gonzaga of Mantua are illustrative of the rela-

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Pietro Giacomo Borbone held office as archbishop of Pisa. Konrad Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* III *Saeculum XVI ab anno 1503 complectens* (Münster: Regensberg, 1910) 292.

[65] Cosmacini, *Storia della medicina*, 112–121; Wietse de Boer, *The conquest of the soul: confession, discipline, and public order in Counter-Reformation Milan* (Leiden: Brill, 2001 [i.e. 2000]) 79–83.

[66] 'Habuit in hoc genere ab Episcopis suis Mediolanensibus exempli aliquid ad imitandum. Sed iis praecipue delectatus est; quae, ut est apud Eusebium, Dionysius Alexandriae Episcopus narrat: aegros gravissimo pestis tempore, ab christianis omni charitatis officio aiutos; non solum presbyteris, et diaconis, sed laicis quoque: qui quidem iacentibus assidentes, hilare ministrabant, et morbum etiam contrahebant: ipsa cadavera lavantes, ornantes, et funebri linteo involventes, immo etiam humeris portantes, libenter una cum fratribus suis mortem oppetebant: eoque libentius, quo genus mortis a martyrii laude nihil abesse existimabant; cum interim gentiles homines miserabiliter se invicem desererent; vir uxorem, uxor virum; filii parentes, parentes ipsi natos suos.' Bascapé, *Vita e opere di Carlo*, 328–331.

tions between medical experts and the clergy. In the *Instruttione sopra la peste* Mercati described the causes of the plague, the symptoms, possible methods of prevention and possible remedies. Mercati named the balance of the *humores*, in combination with the position of the stars and specific conditions of the soil, water and air, plants and animals, all natural factors, as causes of the plague. He also put forward the possibility of a supernatural cause, and observed that it was the responsibility of theologians to express their views on this. He refrained from venturing any further into the subject, apart from naming some historical examples.[67]

Bishop Gonzaga also named causes of the plague, manners of preventing it and means of curing it in his *Cause et rimedii della peste*. However, the bishop emphasized the spiritual side of sickness and epidemics, exhorting the reader to introspection and conversion in order to combat the plague. According to Gonzaga it was known that different circumstances could cause plague: the bad *humores* in the body, bad air, infection, or other conditions. These were precisely the causes that Mercati also named. However, Gonzaga failed to mention any medical literature, and immediately proceeded with his own point of view. The eyes of the Christian must look beyond these superficial causes and recognize the 'more fundamental causes'.[68] These more fundamental causes were pride, heretical ideas and practices, lust, and avarice. God's dismay about the sins of man formed the 'principal' cause of the plague.

The books by Mercati and Gonzaga show that their relationship was asymmetric. The authors were in agreement that both natural and supernatural causes of the plague were conceivable. Natural causes fell under the competency of the physician, supernatural causes fell under that of the priest. Each writer was fully aware of the other's field of competence, and both were wary of venturing into the other's terrain. The physician, however, recognized limits to the range of phenomena about which he was qualified to speak, and conceded that beyond that, the clergy took

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[67] Michele Mercati, *Instruttione sopra la peste* (Rome: V. Accolti, 1576) 4–15. Marco Ruffini includes Mercati among those who made use of the plague to demonstrate their loyalty to the pope and to the Church of Rome, thus putting him in the company of, among others, Angelo Rocca, Baldassare Pisanelli, Principio Fabrizi and Marcantonio Ciappi. Marco Ruffini, *Le imprese del drago. Politica, emblematica e scienze naturali alla corte di Gregorio XIII (1572–1585)* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2005) 74.

[68] Marco Gonzaga, *Cause et rimedii della peste, et d'altre infermita* (Florence: Giunti, 1577) 22–38, where he describes the 'piu principali cause'. Cfr. Gentilcore, *Healers and Healing*, 12–13.

over. On the other hand, the cleric contended that even though at first glance phenomena all appeared to be the province of the physician, on a more profound level the clergy held responsibility for all.

From an ecclesiastical perspective, the endeavors and ambitions of doctors were in some cases not only futile, but even a hindrance. Since the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 the Church had required physicians to give their patients the opportunity to receive the last rites when administering a medical treatment that put the patients' lives at risk.[69] That at least some physicians were sensitive to this demand is apparent from an incident that Mercati – the author of *Cause et rimedii della peste* – describes in a report about the last illness of Gregory XIII. Mercati noted that the pope had not much longer to live. He recalled the harsh criticism he had heard shortly before from the priest Alonso Lobo, about physicians who were unduly optimistic about the condition of a patient, only to be able to continue their treatment for as long as possible. In the long run it would be too late for the patient to receive the last sacraments. Mercati therefore urged the pope to save his soul and his life in the hereafter, admitting that he could do no more for Gregory's life here on Earth. A chamberlain called for a priest, and in the middle of receiving the sacrament of extreme unction, Gregory died.[70]

In the light of the intimate contacts between the medical profession and the Oratorians it is not surprising that in Gallonio's *Vita* of Neri physicians do not only figure as anonymous representatives of a professional group but also as individual protagonists. Mercati was one of these. This Tuscan physician was quite intimate with the Oratorians. He was a student under Cesalpino in Pisa and during the pontificate of Pius V (1504–1572, pope 1566) he went to Rome in order to take up the position of Prefect of the Vatican Botanical Gardens.[71] Oratorians, including Neri

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69 Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine*, 44.

70 'Padre Santo, bisogna hora pensare all'anima, che ci è poco tempo. […] Bisogna pensare all'altra vita, Padre Santo, che a questa non vi e piu rimedio', M. De Boüard, 'La mort de Grégoire XIII d'après un récit inedit de son médecin', *Revue Historique* 168 (1931) 91–97 (95–96). Alonso Lobo ('Lupus') preached regularly as an invitee of the Oratorians. Examples of his sermons can be found in several collections of discussions that were held in the Oratory in the early years of the pontificate of Gregory XIII: BibVal Ms. O.17, for example ff. 1ro–3vo; BibVal Ms. O.18, for example ff. 41vo–42ro. He delivered sermons in 1577 when the Chiesa Nuova, the new church of the Oratorium, was taken into use: Cesare Baronio, 'De origine Oratorii', ed. Antonio Bellucci, *Aevum* 1 (1927) 625–633 (633).

71 Elisa Andretta, 'Mercati, Michele', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* LXXIII (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2009) 606–611; Loris Premuda, 'Mercati Michele' in: Charles Coulston Gillispie ed., *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* IX *A.T. Macrobius—K.F.*

himself, corresponded with him about his family and about the books he wrote. During the last years of his life he sometimes stayed in the Oratorian complex in the Vallicella.[72] Gallonio describes in the *Vita* how in 1581 Mercati's father, himself a doctor, delivered his ailing son into the care of Neri when the latter came to visit him. The priest predicted Michele's recovery, rightly as it turned out.[73]

Mercati is a case in point of how, in the economy of spiritual and physical health, the endeavors of medical scholars at times seemed detrimental rather than beneficial. Besides cultivating medicinal flowers and plants, Mercati also collected and studied minerals, having set up a museum in the Vatican. In 1593 he intimated to Neri that he was working on a book, a mineralogical overview that was published posthumously as *Metallotheca Vaticana* (1717). Neri repeatedly warned Mercati that his intense scholarly efforts would lead to his death. Again Neri's prediction proved correct. Mercati died soon after of a urological illness.[74] The physician's end actually appeared to be linked to the worldly study he pursued with such assiduity, disregarding Neri's advice. Cesalpino performed a dissection on Mercati and reported that he had found dozens of stones in the kidneys, ureters and bladder of his former pupil. Cesalpino refers to this in the introduction of his own work about minerals, with the suggestive exclamation 'As if during the digging up of underground tunnels, he has created comparable things within himself!'[75] The observations of Cesalpino seemed a confirmation of Neri's prophetic admonitions.

Gallonio did not capitalize on this episode to stress Neri's exceptional gifts, but did so in the comparable case of the Calabrian physician Giovanni Battista Modio (†1560). Modio faced a similar choice as Mercati:

Naumann (New York: Scribner, 1974) 308–309 (308). See also the introduction of Gianfranco Cantelli in Michele Mercati, *Gli obelischi di Roma* (Bologna: Cappelli, 1981 [repr. of Rome: D. Basa, 1589]) 38; Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, I, 211 n. 580.

[72] Michele Mercati, *Metallotheca Vaticana*, ed. Giovanni Maria Lancisi (Rome: G.M. Salvioni, 1717) xxxi–xxxii, xxxvi; Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, IV, 193 n. 417; Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, I, 154 n. 146, 482–483, 516, 613 n. 31, 697 n. 104, 712 n. 153, 716 n. 170, 719 n. 187, 736 n. 43, 815, 817.

[73] Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, I, 211 [O. Ansaldi]; 'medicae artis peritissimo', Gallonio, *Vita beati patris*, 151; idem, *Vita del beato padre*, 156.

[74] Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, I, 145–146 [A. Alluminati]; see also chapter 6 for Mercati's work on minerals.

[75] 'immatura morte praeventus eaque inevitabili ob calculos in utroque rene ingentes ac numerosos, & quamplurimos alios in vesica fellis repertos (quasi dum Terrae cuniculos rimaretur, in se ipso non absimilia procrearet)', Andrea Cesalpino, *De metallicis libri tres* (Rome: L. Zannetti, 1596) a2^{vo} (preface to the reader). Ferrari, 'Cesalpino', 123; Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, I, 235 [A. Cesalpino].

should he devote his energies to the transient world or to eternal life? The result with Modio was, however, more elevating: while Mercati, despite Neri's warnings, persevered with his worldly study, Neri was able to bring about a change of orientation in Modio. Modio too was plagued with kidney stones, and could no longer urinate, and he himself thought that he would not survive. Through the intercession of Neri, however, who went and prayed for him in a neighborhood church, he made a swift recovery. After this he began to hold discourses for the Oratory, at Neri's request, on the lives of saints, and continued to do so for the rest of his life.[76] Modio changed his life for the better by devoting himself to the cult of the saints after his recovery.[77]

Modio's conversion was not just an edifying story, it also emphasized the vanity of medical and natural knowledge. In the mid-sixteenth century Modio participated in a scholarly debate about the quality of the water of the Tiber. The issue of drinking water had a clear correlation with the problem of kidney and bladder stones. In the early modern period internal stones were among the most frequently occurring disorders.[78] An incorrect diet was seen as an important cause of this complaint, including drinking thick, gritty fluids.[79] Among the instigators of the Roman debate on water was Alessandro Petronio, who figures in Gallonio's *Vita* as one of the physicians who failed to cure Prospero Crivelli (see § 4.1).[80] In publications in 1552 and again in 1581, Petronio praised the water of the Tiber, which he stated was beneficial for everybody.[81] Modio was one of the

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[76] 'ex incommoda illa valetudine penitus emerserit. Huius deinde opera B. Pater in enarrandis priscorum Sanctorum rebus gestis magno cum fructu, & solatio audientium usus est', Gallonio, *Vita beati patris*, 56–57; 'in brieve di si noiosa infermità rimase interamente libero, impiegandosi poi in raccontare all'Oratorio, secondo l'ordine datogli dal Beato Padre, à cui fù sempre ubidiente, le vite de'Santi; il che fece con gran frutto de gli ascoltanti,' idem, *Vita del beato padre*, 52.

[77] Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, III, 259 [G. Fedeli].

[78] Margaret Healy, 'Journeying with the "Stone": Montaigne's healing *Travel Journal*', *Literature and Medicine* 24 (2005) 231–333 (234–235). In the depositions of witnesses testifying in canonization processes of *servi Dei* from the Kingdom of Naples, 1540–1750, kidney and bladder stones, together with inguinal hernia and infections of the eyes, were the most frequently occurring of all specific clinical syndromes. Sallmann, *Naples et ses saints*, 354–356.

[79] Anne Jacobson Schutte, 'Suffering from the stone: the accounts of Michel de Montaigne and Cecilia Ferrazzi', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 64 (2002) 21–36 (28–29); Harold J. Cook, *Trials of an Ordinary Doctor: Joannes Groenevelt in Seventeenth-Century London* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1994) 82–101.

[80] Gallonio, *Vita beati patris*, 42–43; idem, *Vita del beato padre*, 42–43.

[81] Alessandro Traiano Petronio, *De aqua Tiberina opus quidem novum, sed ut omnibus qui hac aqua utuntur utile, ita & necessarium* (Rome: V. and L. Dorico, 1552); idem, *De*

first to advise explicitly against drinking the river's water. In a treatise of 1556 he wrote that the papal construction services should be deployed to restore the ancient aqueducts. The clear water from sources in the mountains would be better for human health than the turbid water in the wide, slow-flowing Tiber. He condemned *medici tiberini* such as Petronio, who thought that the river water had healing powers.[82]

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, when Gallonio wrote the *Vita* of Neri, Modio's view had become dominant in Rome. Popes Sixtus V and Paul V had water flow through conduits to the city from the Apennines and made it accessible to the people via fountains, the *Acqua Felice* and the *Acqua Paola*.[83] Nonetheless, Modio himself was tormented by kidney stones, his expertise notwithstanding. Gallonio seized upon the coincidence. He drew attention to Modio's book about the water of the Tiber before recounting Neri's intercession on the physician's behalf. He had Modio pass his first droplets of urine at exactly the same moment that Neri's tears began to flow. He thus set Modio's intellectual achievement against the mystery of his urological stones and miraculous cure.[84] Neri's tears, caused by intense prayer to God, were more effective than the most advanced insight in the physico-chemical characteristics of water.

Gallonio's attention to Modio's work was purely inspired by the latter's involvement with the Oratory and by his conversion. If Gallonio had any personal interest in the debate about the water, he would seem to have been inclined towards the *medici tiberini*. The priest did not even possess any of Modio's publications, but he did own a copy of *De thermis* by Andrea Bacci, who, in the debate about drinking water, chose the losing

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victu romanorum et de sanitate tuenda libri quinque. His accessere libelli duo De alvo sine medicamentis mollienda (Rome: in aedibus Populi Romani, 1581); see Cesare d'Onofrio, *Le fontane di Roma* (Rome: Romana Società, 1986) 38–39.

82 'che diremo de i medici del nostro tempo, quali havendo copia di quasi tutti i buoni autori, che possono essere loro guida et maestri à dover trovare et conoscere chiaramente la verità, stanno pure ostinati nell'antica openione et corrono col Tevere al mare di questo errore', from: Giovanni Battista Modio, *Il Tevere. Dove si ragiona in generale della natura di tutte le acque, e in particolare di quella del fiume di Roma* (Rome: V. Luchini, 1556), quoted in D'Onofrio, *Le fontane di Roma*, 33, 36–37.

83 Ibid., 32–43.

84 'Giovan Battista Modio Calabrese, [. . .] di cui sono le fatiche sopra i Cantici del Beato Iacopo da Todi; e un libro dell'acqua del Tevere', Gallonio, *Vita del beato padre*, 50; 'il Beato Filippo, visitatolo secondo l'usanza, e confortatolo in prima benignamente alla patientia, se n'andò fatto questo alla Chiesa più vicina; dove porgendo caldissimi prieghi al Signore per la salute di lui, alla prima lagrima, che de gli occhi gli uscì, mandò subito fuori il Modio l'orina; per la qual cosa prese egli all'hora miglioramento si grande, che in brieve di si noiosa infermità rimase interamente libero', ibid., 52.

side headed by Petronio.[85] There is no apparent relation between Gallonio's preferences regarding the content of medical debates and the choices he made for the composition of the *Vita*. The mention of physicians and medical issues in the *Vita* of Neri merely served to underline the exceptional state of grace of the Florentine priest.

4.3 *The Body of the Saint*

In Gallonio's work, physicians giving their patients hands-on treatment appear to be no more effective than doctors who limit themselves to peering at urine samples. In 1589 Giovanni Battista Guerra (1554–1627), the caretaker of the Congregation and brother of the artist who designed the illustrations of Gallonio's martyrological treatise (see § 5.3), fell from a ladder in the Oratorian church and injured his head against the marble balustrade of a side chapel. He lay surrounded by physicians and surgeons, with a gaping head wound. A heated discussion broke out as to how they should treat the wound. Some believed that they should open it further in order to be able to see the internal damage. Others, including Giuseppe Zerla (1521–1605), a surgeon and lay brother of the Oratory, were against this.[86] The question of whether a wound could better be treated from the outside with bandages and compresses, or by opening it further so that it was more clearly visible and could be cleansed, had for centuries been a moot point between the proponents of the external and those of the internal medical practice.[87] It was this dissension among the experts that Gallonio seized upon. The physicians stood, instruments in hand, looking on powerlessly, unable to agree upon the best course of action. This was

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[85] ASR, Notai A.C. Vol. 66 f. 109ro. According to this inventory, Gallonio owned the second edition: Andrea Bacci, *De thermis libri septem* (Venice: Valgrisi, 1588[2] [1571]).

[86] 'Ioannes (id uni ex illis nomen) in ea erat sententia, ut diceret laesam partem ferramentis non modò abradendam, sed etiam aperiendam esse, osque ipsum detegendum, ut quicquid laesum erat, in conspectu esset: alii verò contra, in quibus Josephus Zerla erat medicae artis laude praestans, nullo id pacto tentandum: iamque ferramenta ad scindendum, perforandumque parata omnia: sed cum peritissimi medici diversa de curandis vulneribus sentirent, nullum aegro adhibetur medicamentum, praeter simplicem abiegni olei unctionem, & unicam ex oleo amygdalino potionem', Gallonio, *Vita beati patris*, 176–177; 'alcuni dicevano doversi altro rimedio prendere. Erano di già gli stromenti in ordine per venire al tagliamento; ma essendo eglino tra loro differenti non si mise ad effetto questo medicamento: furono dunque le ferite con olio semplice di abete unte, e all'infermo dato per bocca un poco d'olio di mandorle dolci', Gallonio, *Vita del beato padre*, 186–187.

[87] Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine*, 159, 169–170.

in contrast to the concerted efforts of the Oratorian priests in praying for Guerra.[88]

Things were different when surgeons opened the body of the deceased Neri in order to examine it. The postmortem provided knowledge of a much wider perspective than purely medical or physiological issues. The anatomical dissection was seen not only as a method of gaining knowledge about the muscles, bones and blood vessels, but also about the mind and the soul.[89] The same pious surgeon Zerla, who had opposed exploratory surgery on the head wound of Guerra, did take up the scalpel to inspect the saintly body of Neri.[90] Instead of sneering at the incapability of the medical profession, Gallonio described this operation extensively. Beholding the internal structure of the human body, as with any other aspect of the human being, was only edifying if it exhibited the glory of the saint.

The Anatomy of Neri

Gallonio begins his report of the postmortem with a supernatural sign of modesty by Neri. While the surgeons were arriving and the Oratorians were undressing Neri, the dead man continually moved his hands in such a way that his private parts were kept from view. Upon seeing this, Angelo Vittori, who was also present, exclaimed "Now look what a chaste man! Even in death he covers himself, so as to prevent us from seeing certain parts of his body!" In accordance with the different functions of the two editions, the Latin *Vita* being businesslike and open, the Italian *Vita* prudish and playing on feelings, Gallonio describes this touch of purity more extensively in the Italian version.[91] Vittori, in his work about Neri's

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[88] Gallonio, *Vita beati patris*, 176–177; Gallonio, *Vita del beato padre*, 186–187.

[89] Daniela Bohde, 'Skin and search for the interior: the representation of flaying in the art and anatomy of the Cinquecento' in: Florike Egmond and Rob Zwijnenberg eds., *Bodily Extremities. Preoccupations with the Human Body in Early Modern European Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003) 10–47 (20); Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (London: Routledge, 1995) 87–88, 96–99; Andrea Carlino, *La fabbrica del corpo. Libri e dissezione nel Rinascimento* (Turin: Einaudi, 1994) 139–140, 142–143.

[90] Nancy G. Siraisi, 'Signs and evidence: autopsy and sanctity in Late Sixteenth-Century Italy' in: idem, *Medicine and the Italian Universities, 1250–1600* (Leiden: Brill, 2001) 356–380 (364–365).

[91] 'Convenerant iam eius corporis exenterandi gratia sectores: aderant multi ex Patribus, cum defuncti corpus quò dissecari facilius posset, denudassent, exanguis illius corporis manus, & spiritu destituti (mirum dictu) supra naturae vires moveri, easque corporis partes, quas indecorum ostendi vivo fuisset, occultare coeperunt', Gallonio, *Vita beati patris*,

palpitations in which he discusses the autopsy against the background of ancient and modern medical writings, does not mention this posthumous sign of purity. When asked in 1610 in a later phase of the canonization process, he did acknowledge his exclamation. He explained that the movement of the deceased's hands could not have been caused by those performing the autopsy since it would have been impossible for the hands to have repeatedly fallen into the same position.[92]

Now that the body of Neri himself was the subject of observation, Gallonio chose to report on anatomical details, and even to elucidate them for those who did not know the terminology—or for those who might doubt his knowledge. In the Italian version Gallonio mentions only the essence of the miracle that manifested itself during the dissection: Neri had lived with broken ribs for fifty years without hindrance. The broken ribs had actually created room so that extra air from his lungs could cool his heart. With this remedy, God had prevented Neri from suffocating from the tremendous heat that the contemplation of divine things had caused him. In the Italian version Gallonio devotes a great deal of attention to the many expert medical practitioners who for a long period had studied Neri's anatomy and who had stated, both verbally under oath and in writing, that this was a miracle. Gallonio notes, for example, that Vittori and Zerla had seen with their own eyes that there was no moisture in the space containing the heart, 'that the physicians call Pericardium'.[93] In

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227; 'Questa cosa è maravigliosa che aprendosi mentre si sarebbe a volta, a volta potuto vedere indifferentemente ogni parte del corpo, si ricopriva egli sempre da se stesso colla mano, come se ancor vivesse: la qual cosa vedendo Angelo Vittorio, disse tutto pieno di maraviglia, ad alta voce; Hor vedete che purità di huomo! che ancor morto da se stesso si ricopre, acciochè noi altri non vediamo certe parti del suo corpo! e questo medesimo fece egli anco mentre il suo corpo defonto si lavava: segni chiarissimi erano questi di quella gran purità, ch'egli e di dentro e di fuori possedeva.' Gallonio, *Vita del beato padre*, 245.

92 Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, IV, 35 [A. Vittori], cfr. Vittori, *De palpitatione cordis*, 5–6. The deposition of Francesco Zazzara might have inspired doubt as to whether the movement of Neri's hands had not been caused by those performing the autopsy, turning Neri's body over several times: Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, I, 68 [F. Zazzara].

93 'Aperto il corpo i Medici, e tutti gli altri che il videro, trovarono con istupore che le due coste dalla banda del cuore erano levate in fuori all'insù alla altezza di più d'un buon pugno, e a foggia di un'Arco piegate; nel qual modo le haveva portate lungo tempo senza dolore alcuno mai; cioè cinquanta anni continovi, come di sopra s'è detto. Eransi le due coste predette così rotte per la forza, e ardor grande della Contemplatione; il che fu rimedio divino, affinchè il gran calore interno, che sentiva al cuore, non havesse potuto affogarlo. Queste cose essaminando lungamente medici sperti, e di gran sapere, e fra loro conferendole hanno e con scrittura, e con giuramento affermato essere state e miracolose, e soprannaturali: sono i medici Antonio Porto da Fermo, Andrea Cesalpino d'Arezzo, Angelo Vittorio da Bagnarea, Gioseffo Zerla, e altri. Aperto dunque il petto furono trovate

the Italian version Gallonio considers the authority of the medical experts more telling than their actual reasoning.

In Latin, Gallonio goes considerably deeper into the anatomical details. After Neri's body had been lying on the bier, relates Gallonio, it was opened in the evening in order to gain a good view and to remove his intestines.[94] The surgeons opened the front of the thorax. Here Gallonio adds his own interpretations to the observations of the experts. Because of the broken ribs, Neri's heart, which had suffered under the 'scorching heat of love', had gained more space. As a result, the lungs had been able to expand more easily, and more than was customary, thus giving them the ability to send sufficient fresh air to the heart to cool it down.[95] The vein that went from the lungs to the heart was also twice as large as normal in order to cool the heat caused by the divine fire. Gallonio emphasizes that the spiritual power of Neri was thus physically manifested in the heart.[96] The author then goes to the pericardium, and typically describes it himself instead of referring to the medical experts who used the word: 'the pericardium, that surrounds the heart like a box'. Vittori and Zerla had

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l'interiora buone, e in niuna cosa guaste; e il cuore maggiore che ne gli altri essere suole: nella cui cassa, che Pericardio nominano i medici (come Angelo Vittorio, e Gioseffo Zerla co' propri occhi videro) niente d'acqua era; la quale essere stata consumata dall'eccessivo ardore della contemplatione, per la quale cresceva maggiormente la fiamma dell'Amor Divino, nobilissimi Medici hanno con giuramento testificato: e oltre a ciò dall'istessa contemplatione venne parimente (come eglino medesimi hanno detto) che l'Arteria grande, e ampia, che va ne' ventricoli del Cuore, (che così essi la chiamano) fusse il doppio più sparsa, e ampia che l'usato: e questo fu fatto perchè e' potesse sostenere i sopradetti ardori, servendosene più spesso a portar nuovi spiriti, e vapori al cuore.' Gallonio, *Vita del beato padre*, 246.

94 'Interea nocte advenante clausis sub tertiam horam Ecclesiae valuis defuncti corpus tum inspiciendi, tum exenterandi causa dissectum est', Gallonio, *Vita beati patris*, 227.

95 'Haec medici diu, multùmque animo agitantes, in eam tandem unanimes venere sententiam, ut iurati verbo, scriptisque affirmarint eam costarum fracturam Beato Patri divinitus contigisse, idque multis de causis; primùm ne contemplationi vacans ex divini caloris vi, abundantiaque repentina morte extinguetur; deinde ut Cor ardentissimos amoris aestus sustinens augustiorem sibi locum acquireret; tum ut pulmones facilius, ac praeter consuetudinem dilatarent se se: postremò ut beneficio loci augustioris tantum novi aeris pulmones ad cor deferrent, quantum ad illud refrigerandum satis esset.' Ibid., 228. In the margin near 'Haec medici […]' are the names of the physicians that had given their opinions: Antonio Porti, Andrea Cesalpino, Angelo Vittori and Giuseppe Zerla.

96 'Aperto Thorace nullum in praecordiis vitium apparuit. […] Vena deinde arteriosa (ut à medicis, aliisque ex astantibus accepi) cuius actio est sanguinem ad pulmones ferre, quò ibi attenuatus cum aere ad sinistrum cordis ventriculum eius nutriendi, refrigerandique causa transferri possit, duplo maior reperta est, quàm natura soleat: ea quandoquidem Philippus frequentius uti opus habebat ad novum aerem, novosque spiritus ad cor deferendum, quò caelestis ignis summos illos ardores, quibus assiduè abundabat, sine valetudinis detrimento, ne dicam mortis periculo, sustinere potuisset.' Ibid., 228–229.

testified that there had been no trace of moisture because of the searing heat of Neri's contemplation. Gallonio adds that the heart consisted of two chambers and two atria that looked rather like ears, and that neither of these parts had contained blood.[97] Here Gallonio is exceptionally specific about the exact structure of a human organ. Neri's heart was a direct measure of his saintliness and thus deserved the special attention of the hagiographer.

In this case, the autopsy performed by the medical experts served the same objective as Gallonio's *Vitae*. The physicians had established that the anatomical characteristics of Neri were inexplicable. The logical conclusion was that Neri's body was the object of a divine miracle. There were quite a number of doctors present at Neri's postmortem in a division of tasks that makes one think of the lecture theaters of medical faculties. The surgeon Zerla made the incisions in Neri's body and the barber-surgeon Del Bello carried out the activities necessary for its conservation. Doctors Angelo Vittori and Bernardino Castellano (1542–1623) were present at the autopsy, but apparently scarcely touched the body. Nevertheless it was Vittori and three other doctors who were not even eyewitnesses to the operation (Andrea Cesalpino, Antonio Porti and Rodolfo Silvestri), who interpreted the observations.[98] Knowledge and procedures from the medical field were employed so as to display the inadequacy of the profession with relation to Neri's body.

Rather than passively awaiting the documentation that notary Buzi had collected in the canonization process, Gallonio went after the expert testimony of medical professionals himself. Gallonio knew about the argumentations of Cesalpino and Porti as early as September 1595. In that month Gallonio stated in his deposition in the canonization process that according to the two doctors it was a miracle that Neri had suffered no pain from the broken ribs. He also quoted them as stating that it was remarkable that Neri, despite his palpitations, had exceeded the age of fifty, because

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[97] 'Corde dein, cuius incisa cutis fuit, inspecto, in pericardio, quod veluti capsula illud involuit, Angelo Victorio, & Iosepho Zerla testibus, aquae nihil repertum fuit, quam ardore contemplationis consumptam fuisse nobilissimi medici iureiurando firmarunt. In ventriculis autem, quorum partes duae sunt in utramque partem sitae quasi aures duae, duo sinus, seu ventriculi, nihil sanguinis, eodem Zerla auctore, apparuit.' Ibid., 229.

[98] Vittori, *De palpitatione cordis*, 5; Siraisi, 'Signs and evidence', 364–365; for the anatomical dissection as carried out in early modern universities: Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned*, 69–72; Bernard Schultz, *Art and Anatomy in Renaissance Italy* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985) 16, 21.

it conflicted with the teachings of Galen.[99] It was not until 1597 that Porti and Cesalpino consigned these observations to written depositions for the notary in the canonization process.[100] It would seem that by 1595 they had informed Gallonio personally of their opinions. As it turned out, Gallonio misquoted Cesalpino, possibly because he had relied on oral communication. Cesalpino had himself conjectured the maximum life expectancy of fifty years for someone with Neri's affliction. Gallonio wrongly attributed this hypothesis to a passage in Galen's *On the affected parts*. This goes to show that the medical sophistication in the *Vita*, even where it supported Neri's cause, was merely display, meant to convince rather than to convey true knowledge.

Hagiographical Interest in Anatomy around 1600

Gallonio dwelt on the phenomena of the dry, enlarged pericardium and the swollen heart so as to buttress the miracle of Neri's medical history with observations. The same medical condition subsequently became a benchmark for the recognition of the internal anatomy of other saints, both historical and recent ones. For example, Gallonio's report seems to have influenced the works on Chiara da Montefalco. The supernatural discoveries in the heart of this Augustinian abbess have already been mentioned (see § 3.2). The Umbrian priest Isidoro Mosconio, in his *vita* of the medieval abbess published in 1601, does not write a single word about comparable anatomical miracles in his own contemporaries. In his *vita*, Mosconio mentions the remarkable size of Chiara's heart, as large as a child's head, but says nothing further.[101] In 1610 Iacopo Alberici (1554–1610), teacher of theology in the Augustinian order, published a new *Vita* of the blessed Chiara. In contrast to Mosconio, Alberici states as the possible cause of the extraordinarily large heart that God had caused it to

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[99] 'Il che considerando, il s.r Antonio Porto et il s.r Andrea Cesalpino, medici principali di questa città, hanno, a requisitione dell'ill.mo s.r. card. Borromeo, trovato, con più raggioni, esser cosa sopranaturale "consideratis considerandis"; come anco la palpitatione, la quale, secondo Galeno, non lascia, che l'huomo che l'ha arrivi a cinquant'anni di tempo.' Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, I, 185–186 [A. Gallonio].

[100] Ibid., III, 444 [A. Porti]; 438–439 [A. Cesalpino]. For the date of the Latin discussions of Cesalpino and Porti: ibid., III, 437 n. 2489 and 439 n. 2490. The Galenic passage in Claudius Galen, *Galen on the affected parts. Translation from the Greek text with explanatory notes*, ed. and transl. Rudolph Siegel (Basel: Karger, 1976) 138–139.

[101] 'corpus aperiunt: *ibi puerilis instar capitis cor inveniunt*, fellisque sedem duriorem, quàm ut natura ferat, quae omnia summam adspicientibis admirationem pepererunt', Isidoro Mosconio, *Compendium de vita, miraculis et revelationibus beatae Clarae de Cruce Montis Falconis oppidi in Umbria* (Bologna: G. Rossi, 1601) 65–66 (emphasis added).

expand so that she could endure intense divine love without it leading to her death. Alberici justifies this suggestion with the remark that 'it had been written' that the same had happened to other saints—in all probability referring to Fillipo Neri.[102] The source for Alberici's comparative material must have been either one of the reports in a manuscript by one of the medical practitioners himself or, what seems more likely, Gallonio's *Vita*, which had already been published. The treatise written by Vittori about Neri's anatomy, *De palpitatione cordis*, was not published until 1613. In this way an observation in Gallonio's *Vita* that had been founded on expert opinion provided an explanation for a medical miracle in the *Vita* of Chiara.

Neri's supernatural anatomy also served to support the spiritual interpretation of the ailment suffered by the Roman Carmelite Caterina di Cristo (1590–1637). She was the daughter of Federico Cesi (1585–1630), the Duke of Acquasparta, and his wife Olimpia Orsini (1566ca.–1616). In 1627 she entered the convent dedicated to Teresa di Gesù that she herself had founded in Rome. In the years that followed she reported her spiritual experiences in letters to her confessor. She told him, among other things, about the immense, burning pain she continually felt in her intestines. The physicians that she consulted about this ascribed the burning sensation to a defect in her liver. However, she was convinced that there was a more deeply lying cause of her liver disorder. Prior to becoming a nun she had spoken of this to physician Bernardino Castellano, who had been present at Neri's postmortem. According to her, Castellano had entirely understood what was wrong with her and had said that he had seen something similar in Neri.[103] Caterina di Cristo thus suggested in

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[102] 'andarono al corpo, che anchora non era sotterrato, & aperto che fù, ritrovarono il fiele durissimo molto più di quello, che l'humana conditione patisce, & poi viddero *il core grande, cosa mirabile, come la testa d'un bambino, che forsi per diunia* [sic] *gratia era così stato dilatato, affine senza morire potesse sofferire la vehemenza del divino amore, nella estatica contemplatione, come ad altri Beati essere accaduto si scrive*.' Iacopo Alberici, *Vita, e miracoli della B. Chiara detta Della Croce da Montefalco dell'Ordine Eremitano di Sant'Agostino* (Rome: G.B. Robletti, 1610) 96 (emphasis added).

[103] 'già che hò tocco dell'ardore, verrò à dire del male del corpo, che credo da questo proceda perche il grande ardore, credo mi habbi abbriggiato dentro e cosi tutti li mali hò avuti li medici hanno detto questo, se bene loro dicevano la causa veniva dal fegato, et è vero mà il fegato per questo ci è riscaldato questo è da un pezzo, ma comincio da quando stava al secolo, et il padre fra'Domenico Ambrosio me ne fece parlar con il castellano medico il quale mostrò intender molto bene, e me disse che havendo veduto in S. Filippo, et in un'altra che vive hoggi, e disse il modo che dovevo governarmi', from: Antonio di Giorgio, *L'epistolario di Caterina di Cristo*, Tesi di specializzazione in Storia e filosofia

her impulsive, untidily written report that God had affected her body just like that of Neri. Her mention of the physician Castellano, who had been able to observe Neri's pericardium, served to substantiate the assumption of a supernatural ailment. Though she did not mention the *Vita* of Neri, she probably was aware of its existence. Gallonio had dedicated his *Historia delle sante vergini romane* to her mother Olimpia Orsini, and Caterina would certainly have read this. Just like the learned theologian Alberici, this intensely pious Carmelite nun saw both Neri's palpitations and the medical examination of them as important precedents.

Autopsies carried out on the bodies of reputed saints were not always extensively reported in hagiography. While Ignatius Loyola and Carlo Borromeo underwent anatomical dissection in comparable circumstances after their deaths, few of their biographers referred to this. Borromeo underwent an autopsy that was led by Giovanni Battista Carcano Leone (1536–1606). This surgeon wrote that Borromeo's intestines were good, clean and smooth.[104] Although the archbishop had deliberately neglected his physical well-being, God had nonetheless blessed him with a flawless anatomy. Borromeo's situation was comparable to that of Neri's. His unimpaired organs were a sign that he had attained sanctity. While his biographer Bascapé devotes much attention to the powerlessness of the physicians during Borromeo's last days, to his humility and to the grief felt both by dignitaries and the population at large at his death, Bascapé ignores the results of the autopsy. The same applies to a *vita* that was not published until the canonization of Borromeo had come about in 1610, although its writer, Giovanni Pietro Giussano, had himself studied medicine.[105]

Ignatius Loyola's body also underwent an autopsy after his death. Realdo Colombo, a renowned anatomist from Cremona, carried out the operation.[106] Ignatius' secretary, Juan Polanco (1516–1577), described the proceedings in some detail in a letter. According to him it was an edifying and remarkable experience to see that Ignatius' stomach and abdomen

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[= unpublished thesis, Università degli Studi di Firenze, 1997–1998] 54. For Caterina di Cristo's biographical details: ibid., 5–11.

[104] Santing, '*De affectibus cordis et palpitatione*', 21; Siraisi, 'Signs and evidence', 368–370.

[105] Bascapé, *Vita e opere di Carlo*, 624–645; Giovanni Pietro Giussano, *Vita di S. Carlo Borromeo prete cardinale del titolo di Santa Prassede arcivescovo di Milano* (Rome: Camera Apostolica, 1610) 487–497; Siraisi, 'Signs and evidence', 369.

[106] Santing, '*De affectibus cordis et palpitatione*', 20.

were completely empty and contracted. 'Worldly experts in this learning' (i.e. physicians) deduced from this that Ignatius had eaten little or nothing in the period prior to his death. This was also apparent from the small stones that were found in the liver, which had hardened the organ. These observations confirmed what one Iago Eguía had once claimed prior to the saint's death: that Loyola had only lived as long as he had because of a miracle.[107] Polanco's report is similar to the way in which Gallonio wrote about the dissection of Neri. The experts, including Colombo, observed a phenomenon that they could not reconcile with the patient's medical history. This discrepancy could only be ascribed to the intervention of God. However, an important difference from Gallonio's description is that Polanco attributes the inevitable conclusion to a respected member of the Jesuits, rather than to the medical professionals: Iago Eguía had judged it to be a supernatural remedy.[108] Polanco left the handiwork only to the medical experts, and entrusted the conclusion to the clerics.

Pedro Ribadeneira (1527–1611), Ignatius Loyola's biographer, paid no attention to the autopsy. However, he did devote a brief chapter to the Spanish saint's physical appearance, in which he remarks that for all his life Ignatius had suffered pains in his stomach, which was contracted and empty as the consequence of frequent fasting. Just like Polanco, Ribadeneira also mentions the belief of 'prominent physicians' that Ignatius Loyola could never have lived so long by natural means. Ribadeneira does not, however, draw the conclusion that it was a miracle that Ignatius had lasted so long, and that this could only have been thanks to divine intervention.[109]

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[107] 'postquam ex hoc mundo transiisset Pater noster, ad conservandum corpus, visum est conveniens, ut inde eximerentur intestina, & utcumque illud balsamo condiretur. Et haec etiam res magnae aedificationi atque admirationi fuit: ejus namque stomachus ac venter vacuus ac restrictus: unde periti artis istius seculares inferebant magnas praeteriti temporis abstinentias, magnamque constantiam ac fortitudinem ejus; quod in tanta debilitate se fatigabat tantopere, ac cum tam laeto atque aequabili vultu. Inspectum etiam fuit hepar, in quo tres inerant lapilli, ejusdem testes abstinentiae, ex qua induratum fuit: confirmaturque id, quod bonus senex Jacobus Eguia (qui est in gloria) dicebat; Patrem utique nostrum jam pridem per miraculum vivere: propterea quod non scio, quomodo tali cum jecore modo naturali vitam agere potuerit, nisi Deus Dominus noster illum tunc Societati necessarium, corporeorum organorum defectum supplens, in vita conservarit.' in: Johannes Baptista Sollerius e.a. eds., *Acta Sanctorum. Julii* VII (Antwerp: J. Du Moulin, 1731) 510.

[108] On Iago Eguía: John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993) 36, 288.

[109] 'Principio maximis fuit viribus, prosperaque valetudine; quam jejuniorum, poenitentiaeque magnitudine afflixit, & perdidit. Itaque saepe morbo tentatus est, maximeque stomachi dolore per omnem vitam gravissimo, inedia & vacuitate contracto. Fuit enim

Another *vita* of Ignatius Loyola, written by the Jesuit Giovanni Pietro Maffei (1533–1603), a copy of which Gallonio possessed, does deal with the autopsy.[110] Just like Polanco, Maffei relates that during the autopsy it became apparent that Ignatius' stomach was dry and contracted. He adds that the liver was dry, hard and virtually ossified. Moreover, Maffei reports with more precision the place where the stones in the liver were found: in the vein known as the *vena porta* (the vein that was thought to lead from the liver to the heart). As regards detail, this description is closer to Gallonio's description of the dissection of Neri than either Polanco's letter or Ribadeneira's *vita*. Possibly Gallonio was inspired by Maffei's treatment of the matter to include the dissection of Neri in his *vita* as well. On the basis of the anatomical observations, Maffei also presumes that Ignatius' long life and his cheerfulness in his later years must have been the result of a miracle.[111] Nevertheless, the author of this *vita* points to the pathological phenomena of the protagonist less decidedly as signs of sainthood than Gallonio does in the *Vita* of Neri.

As compared with the authors of the other monographic *vitae*, Gallonio devoted a large amount of attention to the anatomy of the candidate for canonization. Moreover, he was the only one to supplement his description

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tenuissimi vulgarisque victus, & ita sobrius, ut tres interdum dies, integram aliquando hebdomadam omni cibo potuque caruerit. Gustatum ita amiserat, ut nullam fere ex cibo delectationem perciperet. Quapropter egregii medici negabant, illum naturaliter ea corporis affectione tamdiu potuisse vivere.' Pedro Ribadeneira, 'Vita Ignatii Loiolae 1587' in: Sollerius, *Acta Sanctorum. Julii* VII, 747–750 (750).

110 The copy in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana that had belonged to Gallonio is Giovanni Pietro Maffei, *Ignatii Loiolae vita qui Societatem Iesu fundavit* (Rome: G. Tornieri, 1587), with the shelf mark: VI.11.B.34. The details in Maffei's description are more or less the same as those described in Polanco's letter, although they are phrased differently. Maffei names the doctor who carried out the autopsy as Realdo Colombo, and refers to the latter's book on anatomy: 'Defuncti corpus tum inspiciendi, tum exenterandi causa dissectum, summam viri abstinentiam & sobrietatem liquido comprobavit. siquidem & stomachus venterque prorsus inanis, & prae siccitate diuturna mire contractus apparuit: & iecur ea ipsa de causa ita obduratum aridumque, ut paene lapidesceret. Sane Realdus Colombus, egregius ea tempestate sector, qui aperiendo interfuit, in hepatis vena, quae Porta dicitur, lapides tres sese invenisse testatur in suo de Anatomia libro.' Ibid., 118. The passage that Maffei cites is: 'Lapides autem innumerabiles pene hisce manibus extracti, inventos in renibus, colore vario, in pulmonibus, in iecore, in vena portae, ut tu tuis oculis vidisti Iacobe Bone in Venerabili Egnatio Generali congregationis Iesu. Vidi etiam lapillos in ureteris, in vesica, in intestino colo, in venis haemorrhoidalibus, atque in umbilico. In bilis quoque vesicula, quod tamen exciderat, varii coloris, variaeque figurae lapillos, & in nonnullis complures inveni: vidi abscessum.' Realdo Colombo, *De Re Anatomica Libri XV* (Venice: N. Bevilacqua, 1559) 266–267. For the internal stones discovered in the body of Ignatius see also § 6.2.

111 'ut *pro miraculo non levi habitum sit*, vitalibus adeo affectis, ac propemodum exustis, hominem tamdiu vivere potuisse, praesertim hilari semper eodemque vultu exsequentem Praepositi Generalis officia & munera.' Maffei, *Ignatii Loiolae vita*, 118 (emphasis added).

of the supernatural anatomy of his spiritual mentor with details relating to the expertise of those who carried out the autopsy. The Latin edition of the *Vita* of Neri was published more than ten years after papal canonizations had resumed after the temporary pause following the Reformation, and just before Clement VIII called a halt to the enthusiasm with which the believers venerated their recently deceased leaders. Gallonio saw no reason to be reticent, and used all the means at his disposal to present Neri as a miraculous phenomenon with a view to a swift handling of the canonization process by the Curial authorities.

Just as contemporary criminal procedures were informative regarding the methods of torture that Gallonio reconstructed in the treatise of martyrdom, so his experience with the postmortem may have helped in the description of the remarkable anatomical particulars. He did not attend the autopsy performed on Neri on the night of his death, claiming that he had just been laid low by an accident.[112] Nonetheless, in the *Vita* of Neri he was able to report that during the inspection of Neri's body the intestines had been removed and buried separately (in Latin he specifies that the heart, lungs, liver, spleen and intestines were buried in an earthenware dish).[113] He was himself present when the casket containing Neri's intestines was disinterred in January 1596. At that time Cardinal Cusano wanted to inspect the intestines and have the heart set in gold. This was a form of *elevatio*, retrieving relics in order to check them, to venerate them and sometimes to relocate them, wholly or partially. The physician Vittori, however, failed to find the heart among the organs.[114] Gallonio left this detail out of the *Vita*. He did testify to it in the trial, remarking that the intestines that were present had not been debased by worms or other creatures. According to Gallonio this too was most remarkable since the *fisici* wrote that it was natural that creatures were generated in the

[112] Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, I, 197 [A. Gallonio].

[113] 'Absoluta demum pectoris inspectione sine gravi odore, sanctum relinquitur corpus intestinis vacuum: Haec, nempe cor, pulmo, iecur, lien, & exta, catino terreo inclusa in sepulchro sepeliendis Patribus constructo condita sunt, terraque obruta: illud verò ad sequentem diem, quò populo satisfieret, in Ecclesia omnium oculis expositum relinqui oportuit.' Gallonio, *Vita beati patris*, 229; 'Compiuta ogni cosa rimase il corpo voto, cioè senza l'interiora, le quali furono portate alla sepoltura comune de'Padri, e quivi seppellite; e il Corpo lasciato in Chiesa infino al giorno seguente per sodisfazzione del popolo', idem, *Vita del beato padre*, 247.

[114] Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, II, 137–138 [A. Gallono]; 236 [A. Vittori]. For the act of *elevatio*: Luigi Canetti, *Frammenti di eternità: corpi e reliquie tra antichità e Medioevo* (Rome: Viella, 2002) 84–85, 161–162.

body of a dead person, following the principle *generatio unius est corruptio alterius*.[115]

It is probable that the intestines were objects of veneration during the decennium that followed the death of Neri. In his diary, Francesco Zazzara makes mention of a casket with 'cloths, and other relics' of Neri which, together with a wax image, were placed on the altar.[116] On his death Gallonio bequeathed a casket containing intestines to the Congregation of the Oratory, together with a wax mask of Neri. In all probability these were the same intestines that had been buried in 1595 and removed from the grave a year later.[117] The treatment of Neri's body was a continuation of what had occurred for centuries with the relics of saints. The body was the object of intense observation and occasioned deep veneration. Gallonio and his fellow Oratorians, however, engaged medical expertise for every observation.

4.4 *Conclusion*

For Gallonio, the soul was always more important than the body. At the same time, the body was of interest if it provided signs that were relevant in determining whether or not someone was a saint. It was for this reason that he devoted attention to the bodies of Neri and to those who had requested his intercession. When necessary, Gallonio ventured quite far into the field of medicine. In the Italian edition of the *Vita* of Neri he emphasized the awe inspired by the miraculous cures, concentrating on Neri's success in effecting recovery through prayer and contemplation, in contrast with the medical experts who were left powerless despite their renown. In the Latin edition Gallonio took a more scholarly approach. He reported medical and physiological phenomena in technical terms, for the most part adopted from the medical experts, but sometimes introduced by himself. However, the Oratorian never let himself be guided by medical

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115 'Et ci era presente il s.r Angelo Vittorio, medico, che fece diligentia per questo; et nelli interiori non ci era corruttione de vermi nè de animali: il che è cosa grande, essendo stato otto mesi sotto terra, il che mostrando che non ci fosse corruttione in esse et esser cosa naturale, come scrivono li fisici, che "generatio unius est corruptio alterius" et viceversa. Et vi erano presenti a questo l'ill.mo s.r card. Cusano, il medico già detto, Giulio et Giovanni Battista, laici di casa, et io.' Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, I, 137–138 [A. Gallonio].

116 Zazzara, 'Diario delle onoranze', 5.

117 'Una cassetta dorata con una parte dell'interiora del B.P. et una testa di cera'; ASR, Notai A.C. Vol. 66 f. 134ro.

scholarship. His account remains embedded in the metaphorical imagery of hagiography. The divine mystery takes center stage.

Many doctors, surgeons, pharmacists and natural historians visited the Oratory and its leader on a regular basis, and many medical men figure in Gallonio's *Vita*. Their presence was a powerful reminder of the corruptibility of the human body and the vanity of sanitary measures. Time after time medical professionals failed to match the supernatural intercession by Neri. They were, in fact, indispensable in that they could testify to their own inadequacy. The learning of the medical professionals only made a positive contribution to Gallonio's efforts on behalf of the veneration of Neri when the saint's supernatural anatomy came up. Gallonio devoted much attention to the technical details of Neri's dissection. In comparison with the biographies of predecessors Ignatius Loyola and Carlo Borromeo, Gallonio gives the medical profession plenty of space here, thus setting a precedent for subsequent hagiography.

Gallonio's ambivalent attitude toward medicine fit within the strategy of the Oratorians to give a spiritual twist to worldly interests. Just as the *Visita delle Sette Chiese* was a spiritual variant of the carnival procession and the music of Giovenale Ancina consisted of Christian texts set to well-known worldly melodies, in the same way Gallonio used ubiquitous medicine to point the way toward spiritual salubrity.

CHAPTER FIVE

MARTYROLOGICAL TECHNOLOGY

The bodies of martyrs were exposed to the most diverse forms of destructive force. The tortures that Gallonio described were sometimes inflicted by such ingenious mechanisms that the martyrs themselves seemed to fade into the background as he reconstructed the mechanisms of the apparatuses. Since martyrdom was primarily a testimony of faith and the torture of secondary importance, it might seem strange that a priest concentrated more on the mechanical aspects of martyrdom. Nonetheless, by doing so Gallonio reacted to the omnipresent fascination with inventiveness and technology. In the decades in which he lived, this theme aroused general enthusiasm, while being incompatible with the submissiveness that he hoped to cultivate.

The Oratorians celebrated submissiveness and endurance as a Christian counterpart to worldly ambition, as was apparent from the triumphal procession that they organized in honor of Flavia Domitilla, Nereus and Achilleus. The princess and her servants underwent the violence inflicted by their pagan enemies in a manner befitting Christian soldiers, without offering any resistance, in the certainty that a better life awaited them in heaven. Gallonio supplemented the metaphor of the Christian soldier with his descriptions of the instruments of torture. These instruments, such as the pulley, the press and the wooden horse, were like mechanical components of a sacred machine of war. Naturally it was not the *milites christi*, but precisely their opponents, the *nefarii carnifices*, that turned the handles and wheels. While the young, defenceless women were the true Christian soldiers, it was the weaponry of the male members of their families that enabled them to prove their endurance.

The Italian edition of the treatise of martyrdom was like a martyrological machine theater. In it, Gallonio reconstructed the individual instruments of torture in a combination of words and images. The illustrations were an integral part of the multimedia instruction in martyrological knowledge. His readership could see at a glance from the resulting martyrological emblems what the martyrs had accomplished. In the Latin edition the illustrations became fewer in number and less accurate, while the explanatory texts became more extensive, meticulously accounted for

and critical. Just as the Latin edition of the *Vita* of Neri contained more medical jargon than the Italian edition, the Latin edition of the treatise of martyrdom contained more technical jargon. In his discussions of the various forms of torture, Gallonio went more deeply into the various technical aspects of the apparatuses. He was not interested in technology as such, but used it to frame Christian martyrdom as an alternative to the worldly glory associated with human inventions.

5.1 *Nobility, Emblems, Machinery*

A large proportion of the confessants and devout disciples of the Oratory were members of the aristocracy. Gallonio saw it as his duty to transform the ambitions of this aristocratic laity into humble devotion. For centuries, these ambitions had stimulated the aristocracy to violent rivalry on the battlefield, in duels or otherwise. Ambition also stimulated human ingenuity to design all manner of machinery that could be useful in battle. Against the products of human rivalry and human ingenuity, Gallonio drew up his attributes of the renunciation of the world: his martyrological machinery.

Heraldic Arms of the Christian Aristocracy

As their spiritual father, Gallonio wanted to impart to his confessants a militant form of submissiveness. This is clear from his *historia* of Elena Massimo. This female confessant had been able to achieve little in her thirteen years of life. The principal virtue that Gallonio attributed to her was that she accepted with equanimity the sickness that was destroying her. Initially, Elena had wanted to give her life in the fight against heresy in England. The illness that struck her down, to which, after months of suffering, she succumbed, bathed in her own blood as the result of numerous sessions of bloodletting, was an equally worthy test. During this period it was not unusual for young women to yearn for martyrdom. A contemporary of Elena Massimo, the Spanish Luisa Carvajal (1566–1614), had since the age of fourteen declared that she wished to go to England in order to suffer martyrdom. In 1606, when she was forty, she actually reached England, where she embarked on missionary work. Although she was arrested twice, she died, as did Elena Massimo, after falling ill.[1]

[1] 'Et avvengachè, senza l'esser dai nimici del santo nome di Giesù privata di vita, terminasse felicemente i suoi giorni, fu però in parte conforme al suo voler consolata. […]

Gallonio described Elena as a second Euphrosyne, thus emphasizing that she had undergone her conversion to Christianity as an aristocratic young lady who had consciously rejected a future of affluence and power. Euphrosyne had run away from her home in Alexandria in order to avoid inheriting the riches of her father Paphnutius. After having stayed in a monastery for thirty years disguised as a man, she died. Her father had eventually found her, and was so moved by the pious life she had led that he himself also joined the monastery and donated his wealth to it. By comparing Elena Massimo to Euphrosyne, Gallonio not only encouraged his young female confessants to submit manfully to the trials to which God subjected them, he also directed his efforts at Elena's father, Fabrizio Massimo, who himself had taken part in the violence that was typical of the nobility in this period. As a second Paphnutius, this nobleman had to set his daughter before his eyes as an example, lay down his worldly arms and arm himself for the spiritual battle.[2]

New, spiritual weapons were necessary for the conversion of the war-hungry aristocracy. The menfolk of many families, such as the Massimo and Crescenzi families, were very much oriented towards warfare. Participation in military activities that were carried out under the banner of the Roman Catholic Church, such as the war against Protestant armies in the southern Netherlands and against the Turks in Hungary, was especially glorious and held great attraction for the Italian elite. The many Italians that fought in Habsburg wars enjoyed a particular reputation for the construction of fortifications and the design and use of siege engines and artillery.[3] It was an obvious choice for Gallonio to try and attract the

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se ne volò doppo molti dolori sopportati da lei con maravigliosa costanza, rivolta nel suo sangue cavatole con diverse sorti di stratii e di tagli, non ancora satia di patire, come poco appresso si dirà, allo Sposo.' Antonio Gallonio, *Istoria di Helena de' Massimi vergine romana*, ed. Domenico Rebaudengo (Rome: Salviucci, 1857) 39. About Luisa Carvajal's failed attempt to die a martyr: Elizabeth Rhodes, 'Luisa de Carvajal's counter-reformation journey to selfhood (1566–1614)', *Renaissance Quarterly* 51 (1998) 887–911.

[2] Gallonio, *Istoria di Helena*, 6–7. About Fabrizio Massimo, his relation to the Oratorians and his violent past: Maria Teresa Bonadonna Russo, 'Quarto centenario del miracolo di Casa Massimo', *L'Urbe* 46 (1983) 1–12 (6–9). For the violence that was endemic among the aristocracy in the early modern period: Irene Fosi, 'Il governo della giustizia' in: Giorgio Ciucci ed., *Roma moderna* (Rome: Laterza, 2002) 115–142 (115–117); idem, 'La giustizia e la sua immagine: propaganda politica e realtà nel pontificato sistino' in: Marco Fagiolo dell'Arco and Maria Luisa Madonna eds., *Sisto V* I *Roma e il Lazio* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1992) 59–82 (74–75).

[3] Giampiero Brunelli, '"Prima maestro, che scolare". Nobiltà romana e carriere militari nel Cinque e Seicento' in: Maria Antonietta Visceglia ed., *La nobiltà romana in età moderna: profili istituzionali e pratiche sociali* (Rome: Carocci, 2001) 89–132 (89); Gregory Hanlon, *The Twilight of a Military Tradition: Italian Aristocrats and European Conflicts,*

attention of the Italian aristocracy in the field in which they themselves gloried, that of military technology.

Gallonio's martyrological machinery was an arsenal of weapons from which his readership could arm themselves in order to fight the battle required of them to lead pious lives. Just as with worldly weapons, martyrological weapons could serve as heraldic emblems. Gallonio announces in the first line of the Italian edition of the treatise of martyrdom that he wants to sketch the 'honored *imprese*' of Christ's 'glorious warriors'.[4] The term *imprese* is ambiguous: it signifies the achievements of the martyrs, but also the instruments of torture that the martyrs carried with them, as if they were heraldic emblems. The *impresa* denoted, after all, an emblem, a combination of an image and a short text that complemented each another.[5] The *imprese* of the martyrs, portrayed in the engravings with brief textual explanations, were the emblems by which they were immediately recognizable. The engravings showing a number of types of instruments of torture together in the composition of a *panoplia*, the conventional representation of the military equipment of a Greek hoplite, created a direct association with the symbols of the bellicose aristocracy.[6] In this period it was not uncommon to imagine martyrs as warriors. For example, in 1600 Ottavio Panciroli (1554–1624), in his preface to *I tesori nascosti di Roma*, presented the martyrs as soldiers, whose relics were like the heraldic symbols left behind for everyone to see.[7] Antonio Bosio

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1560–1800 (London: Routledge, 2003 [repr. of London: UCL Press, 1998]) 7, 69–86. Between 1492 and 1570, more works about military subjects were published in Venice alone than in the rest of Europe put together. J.R. Hale, *Renaissance War Studies* (London: Hambledon Press, 1983) 429–470.

[4] 'Havendo conseguito i gloriosi combattenti di Christo (le honorate imprese de'quali ho pensato in questo trattato abozzare) mercè della santissima croce, virtù di poter resistere à contrarii grandi, e di superare le forze invincibili del demonio, e de gli Imperatori Gentili, e de i Re della terra, lor ministri', Antonio Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio* (Rome: A. and G. Donangeli, 1591) 1.

[5] Dorigen Caldwell, 'The *Paragone* between word and image in *impresa* literature', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 63 (2000) 277–286; Kristen Lippincott, 'The genesis and significance of the fifteenth-century Italian impresa' in: Sidney Anglo ed., *Chivalry in the Renaissance* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1990) 49–76. For emblematics see also § 6.3.

[6] Such compositions of instruments with which to scourge, burn, and tear, respectively, and of all instruments together: Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio*, 53, 67, 75, 159. See also Alessandro Zuccari, 'La politica culturale dell'Oratorio romano nelle imprese artistiche', *Storia dell'Arte* 41 (1981) 171–193 (174–176).

[7] Ottavio Panciroli, *I tesori nascosti di Roma* (Rome: L. Zannetti, 1600), quoted in Genoveffa Palumbo, '"L'Assedio delle reliquie" alla città di Roma. Le reliquie oltre la devozione nello sguardo dei pellegrini', *Roma Moderna e Contemporanea* 5 (1997) 377–399 (379).

described the catacombs as an 'arsenal where the weapons could be found with which to wage war against the heretics'.[8]

Gallonio was himself in possession of literature about warfare. Some of these titles were clearly in their place in the library of a cleric as they specifically concerned military activities in relation to the Church. For example, he had a collection of anecdotes with which the Jesuit Johannes Molanus (editor of the Usuard *Martyrologium*, see § 2.2) argued for the historical continuity of the military efforts of the Dukes of Brabant to protect the Roman Catholic Church. He also possessed a copy of his fellow Oratorian Bozio's inventory of historical examples that demonstrated the toughness and preparedness of the Latin Church to defend the interests of Christianity by military means. Moreover, his library contained a copy of an address in which one Scipione Pasquali calls on the Christian rulers of Europe to take up arms against the pagan Ottomans.[9]

Conversely, other titles had ancient military strategy as their subject, without a clear ecclesiological aspect. For example, Gallonio owned a recent publication of Flavius Vegetius's treatise about Roman warfare, antiquarian works by Jules César Boulenger (1558–1628) and Onofrio Panvinio on the spoils of war, a practical handbook about warfare by one Giovanni Francesco Fiammelli (1565–1613), and the reconstruction of the Roman army by Justus Lipsius (1547–1606), *De militia romana*.[10] This work by Lipsius was not a historical study for armchair scholars, but a work that real-life leaders drew upon to organize their military manpower and

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[8] 'arsenali dove si pigliar le armi per combattere contra gli Eretici e particolarmente contra gl'iconoclasti, impugnatori delle Sacre immagini, delle quali sono ripieni i cimiterii', quoted in Simon Ditchfield, 'Leggere e vedere Roma come icona culturale (1500–1800 circa)' in: Luigi Fiorani and Adriano Prosperi eds., *Storia d'Italia Einaudi. Annali* XVI *Roma, la città del papa. Vita civile e religiosa dal giubileo di Bonifacio VIII al giubileo di Papa Wojtyla* (Turin: Einaudi, 2000) 31–72 (53).

[9] Johannes Molanus, *Militia sacra ducum et principum Brabantiae* (Antwerp: Plantijn, 1592); Tommaso Bozio, *De robore bellico diuturnis et amplis catholicorum regnis liber unus. Adversus Machiavellum* (Rome: B. Bonfadini, 1593); Scipione Pascali, *Oratione scritta a prencipi christiani per confortarli a muover guerra al Turco* (Rome: S. Paulini, 1604): respectively ASR, Notai A.C. Vol. 66 ff. 114ro, 112vo and 112vo.

[10] Flavius Vegetius, *De re militari libri quatuor* (Antwerp: Plantijn, 1585); Jules César Boulenger, *De spoliis bellicis, trophaeis, arcubus triumphalibus, et pompa triumphi* (Paris: B. Macé, 1601), published together with Onofrio Panvinio, *Liber de triumpho* and idem, *De ludis circensibus libri II*; Giovanni Francesco Fiammelli, *Il principe cristiano guerriero* (Rome: L. Zannetti, 1602); Justus Lipsius, *De militia romana* (Antwerp: Plantijn, 1598): respectively ASR, Notai A.C. Vol. 66 ff. 111vo, 114ro, 111vo and 112ro.

movements.[11] With this, Gallonio had a state-of-the-art study of military strategy and technology in his library.

Lipsius' book about the Roman army formed a diptych with a reconstruction of ancient siege engines, *Poliorceticon*.[12] It is probable that Gallonio also saw this second work. Both books were illustrated. *De militia romana* contains many illustrations of different types of soldiers in the Roman army, in profile and in full military attire. In *Poliorceticon*, the siege engines are depicted either separately or against a background of the theater of war. In the illustrations of the catapults, for example, some are portrayed with a realistic frontal view, while others are completely separated from any context with geometrical lines that show the movements of the components in relation to one other. The latter was a convention that was developed in the fifteenth century in technical drawing. From the late fifteenth century, works came on the market presenting ingenious devices for military and civil applications, with both descriptions and illustrations. A well-known collection of military contrivances, most of which were entirely fictitious, formed part of *De Re Militari* by Roberto Valturio (1405–1475), which was printed as early as 1472.[13] There is a direct line running between Valturio's work and the *Poliorceticon*, as is evident from the legend of one of Lipsius' illustrations of catapults in which the author mentions his predecessor as a source for the graphic representation.[14]

From the first half of the sixteenth century, in the engravings in such publications, illustrators began to make use of the conventions of perspective drawing and of graphic representations of mechanics that had already been developed in manuscripts in the fifteenth century. Machines were depicted in cutaway, transparent or unfolded fashion, in order to

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[11] Maurice and William Louis of Nassau had studied this work by Lipsius, and used it in the reorganization of the States' army. Olaf van Nimwegen, *'Deser landen crijchsvolck': het Staatse leger en de militaire revoluties (1588–1688)* (Amsterdam: Bakker, 2006) 20–21; Jeanine de Landtsheer, 'Justus Lipsius' *De militia romana*. Polybius revived, or How an ancient historian was turned into a manual of early modern warfare' in: Karl Enenkel, Jan L. de Jong and Jeanine de Landtsheer eds., *Recreating Ancient History: Episodes from the Greek and Roman Past in the Arts and Literature of the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2001) 101–122 (103–104, 115–119).

[12] Justus Lipsius, *Poliorceticon sive de machinis. Tormentis. Telis. Libri quinque. Ad historiarum lucem* (Antwerp: Plantijn, 1596). I consulted the edition included in idem, *Opera omnia* (Antwerp: Plantijn, 1611–1629). *De militia romana* and *Poliorceticon* were originally planned as part of a large publication about Roman warfare: Landtsheer, 'Justus Lipsius' *De militia romana*', 105–106.

[13] Samuel Edgerton, *The Heritage of Giotto's Geometry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991) 145–147.

[14] Lipsius, *Poliorceticon*, 137.

reveal their proportions and internal mechanics. The publication of splendidly laid out books on applied mechanics culminated in the so-called machine theaters that appeared in France and Italy in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Such publications carried highly detailed images of complicated mechanical constructions. In reality the designs were often impractible. Books such as *Theatrum instrumentorum et machinarum* by Jacques Besson (1578), *Le premier livre des instruments* by Jean Errard (1584) and *Le diverse et artificiose machine* by Agostino Ramelli (1588) were in fact 'coffee-table books' displaying fantastic inventions. The wealthy book buyers were able to gaze in admiration at the ingenuity of mankind.[15] Gallonio published the Italian edition of the treatise of martyrdom, with engravings of ingenious-looking instruments of torture, in a period when such military studies and machine theaters were snapped up by the aristocratic families who entrusted their daughters to his pastoral care.

Technological Progress and Christian Eternity

While until the end of the fifteenth century the inventions of Antiquity were generally seen as unsurpassable, from the sixteenth century onward it became conceivable that new knowledge and technology might parallel that of the remote past. In Italy this led to a debate between those who believed in the possibility of progress and those who rejected it. Proponents of the concept of progress pointed out useful technological innovations such as the printing press, the compass and the cannon, while its opponents put forward the destructive nature of artillery as an argument for the dangers that emanated from human ingenuity. Alternatively, the latter sometimes contended that such inventions had already existed in Antiquity, but had subsequently been lost and were now only being reinvented.[16] The inventions and ideas of ancient thinkers such as Euclid, Archimedes and Vitruvius continued to be celebrated in literature about the history of applied mathematics, geometry and mechanics as setting the standard. Other publications on the topic, however, focused on modern solutions

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[15] Luisa Dolza and Hélène Vérin, 'Les mondes savants—Figurer la mécanique: l'énigme des théâtres de machines de la Renaissance', *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* 51 (2004) 7–37 (20–22); Marcus Popplow, 'Why draw pictures of machines?' in: Wolfgang Lefèvre ed., *Picturing Machines, 1400–1700* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2004) 17–48 (23–24); Edgerton, *The Heritage of Giotto's Geometry*, 148–192.

[16] Marcus Popplow, *Neu, nützlich und erfindungsreich: die Idealisierung von Technik in der frühen Neuzeit* (Münster: Waxmann, 1998) 116–120; Uta Bernsmeier, *Die Nova Reperta des Jan van der Straet: ein Beitrag zur Problemgeschichte der Entdeckungen und Erfindungen im 16. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg: s.n., 1986) 19–39.

for technical problems. It was particularly in relation to the art of military fortifications that the idea of progress received a strong impulse.[17]

Gallonio looked upon the tortures that he described in the treatise of martyrdom as inventions. He prefaces the last chapter of the Italian edition with the remark that the pagan emperors had persecuted the Christians with even more inventions (*invenzioni*) than described in earlier chapters.[18] Several elements of the treatise show that Gallonio was not among the proponents of technological advancement. He did not think that the inventions of the ancients could be equaled in their genius. This also fit in precisely with his strategy. Human efforts to improve one's own condition in the world were, after all, a waste of energy. Technological innovations such as the printing press and firearms might appear to be triumphs of human ingenuity, but would eventually, on the Day of Judgment, be worthless. Mankind should strive to improve itself spiritually. The treatise of martyrdom does not explicitly thematize man's inventiveness and technological achievements, but it exudes scepticism in relation to technological innovation.

While Gallonio did not share the enthusiasm of some of his contemporaries for inventions, he did have an eye for the technical aspects of, for instance, different presses.[19] He discussed a diversity of presses used in agriculture and the production of books, yet presented them in the context of martyrdom as instruments of torture. He closes the second chapter of the treatise of martyrdom, which is about wheels and other rotating mechanisms, with a brief discussion of a press in which Christians could

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[17] Laurent Pinon, Antonella Romano and Hélène Vérin, 'Renaissance des savoirs scientifiques et techniques? Une introduction', *Nouvelle Revue du Seizième Siècle* 20 (2002) 7–18 (16–17); see also Edgar Zilsel, *Die Entstehung des Geniebegriffes. Ein Beitrag zur Ideengeschichte der Antike und des Frühkapitalismus* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1972 [repr. of Tübingen: Mohr, 1926]) 130–134.

[18] 'Volendo gli Imperatori passati, che adoravano gli Idoli, dar piacere à loro stessi, & a'popoli soggetti all'Imperio Romano, & insieme gratificarsi a i Principi delle tenebre, solevano, oltre i modi ne'capitoli precedenti, narrati, con altre *inventioni* tormentare gli osservatori della legge Evangelica,' Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio*, 134 (emphasis added). In the Latin edition it is the Devil himself that incessantly devised new ways in which to get Christians to renounce their faith. 'Exoptans adhuc vehementissime diabolus singulas hominum animas lucrari non cessabat modos alios, aliasque rationes assidue investigare, quibus Christi fidem funditus evertere, exturbareque potuisset', idem, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus liber* (Rome: Tipografia della Congregazione dell'Oratorio, 1594) 183.

[19] Authors that reflected on innovation (among others Polidoro Vergilio, Giorgio Vasari, Giovanni Battista Egnazio, and Philips Galle) usually included typography and its presumed inventor, Gutenberg, among the most striking examples. Zilsel, *Die Entstehung des Geniebegriffes*, 130–134.

be crushed. He emphatically designates the press mechanism as identical to the method in which wine is pressed from grapes, or oil from olives.[20]

Since the Middle Ages the wine press, the *torcular*, had been a popular metaphor for the eucharistic miracle. In a number of engravings, for example, Johan Wierix (1549ca.–1625ca.) portrayed Christ as though he was being crushed in a wine press, the Cross functioning as the crossbeam of the mechanical press (Fig. 5a). These images are accompanied by the phrase from the Old Testament 'I alone have trodden the wine press'. Baronio used these same words in a letter to Bishop Wilhelmus Lindanus (1525–1588) of Roermond to convey how much he had suffered while preparing the *Annales ecclesiastici* for publication entirely on his own.[21] When Gallonio discusses the crushing of Christians in the wine press, it could thus be interpreted as a reference to the hardships suffered and the healing blood sacrificed by the martyrs.

Yet Gallonio chose not to spell out the biblical allusion, but rather to elaborate on the factual, mechanical working of the press. In the Latin edition he warns about the confusion that could be created by the wording of the only martyrological source he cites, the acts of the martyr Jonas. Gallonio's predecessor Luigi Lippomano had found this Greek text in a Venetian library, had it translated into Latin, and included it in his *Sanctorum priscorum Patrum vitae*. Surius had copied the same translation in *De probatis sanctorum historiis*.[22] Gallonio, who based himself on Lippomano and Surius, writes that he substituted the word *cochlea*, screw, as used in this Latin translation, with the word *torcular*, press. According to Gallonio, the translator had used the word 'screw' incorrectly in light of the fact that a screw is only one component of the apparatus as a whole. The bones of a martyr could not be crushed by a screw, but they could be by a press (Fig. 5b).[23]

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[20] 'Erano sotto il torchio premuti i Martiri, come l'uva: perche s'infrangevano tutte l'ossa loro.' Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio*, 24; 'Premebantur Christiani torcularibus, eo prorsus modo, quo uvae olivaeque, ad vinum atque oleum exprimendum, iisdem premuntur.' Idem, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, 42.

[21] 'torcular calcavi solus et de gentibus non est vir mecum calcavi eos in furore meo et conculcavi eos in ira mea et aspersus est sanguis eorum super vestimenta mea et omnia indumenta mea inquinavi', Isaiah 63:3. The letter from Baronio to Lindanus is mentioned in Hubert Jedin, *Kardinal Caesar Baronius. Der Anfang der katholischen Geschichtsschreibung im 16. Jahrhundert* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1978) 39. On the popularity of the verse from Isaiah in combination with Eucharistic symbolism see: Jörg Jochen Berns, *Himmelsmaschinen / Höllenmaschinen. Zur Technologie der Ewigkeit* (Berlin: Semele Verlag, 2007) 54–63.

[22] Jean Bolland and Godefroy Henschen eds., *Acta Sanctorum. Martii* III (Antwerp: J. Meursius, 1668) 770.

[23] 'Cruciatus fuit huiusmodi martyrio praeclarissimus Christi miles Ionas, de quo in Actis eius ab Isaia Adami filio scriptis Lipomani 7. & Surii 2. haec narrantur: Torcular

Torcular calcaui ſolus, et de gentibus non eſt vir mecum. Eſaiæ 63.
Hieronymus Wierx fecit et excud. Cum Gratia et Priuilegio. Buſchere.

Fig. 5a. Hiëronymus Wierix, *Christ in wine press*, engraving, before 1619.

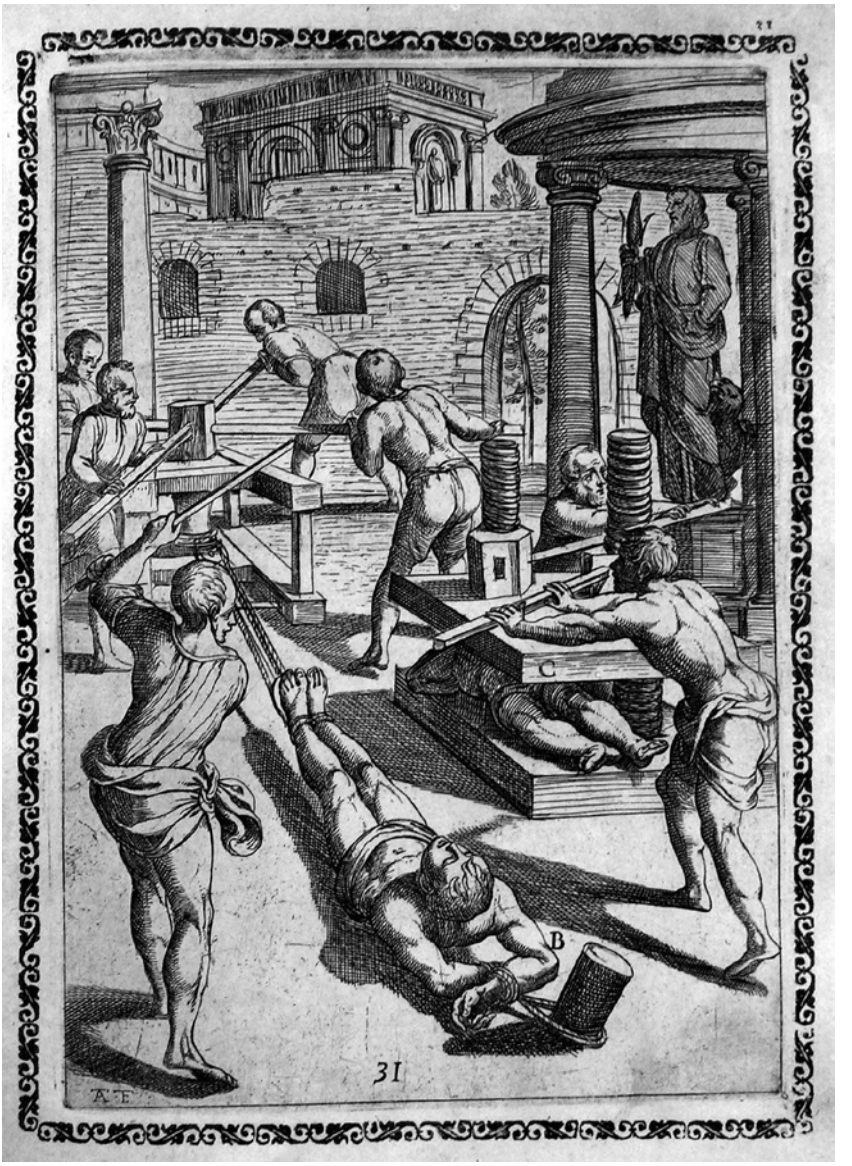

Fig. 5b. Giovanni Guerra and Antonio Tempesta, *Windlass and press*, engraving from: Antonio Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio* (Rome: A. and G. Donangeli, 1591) 31.

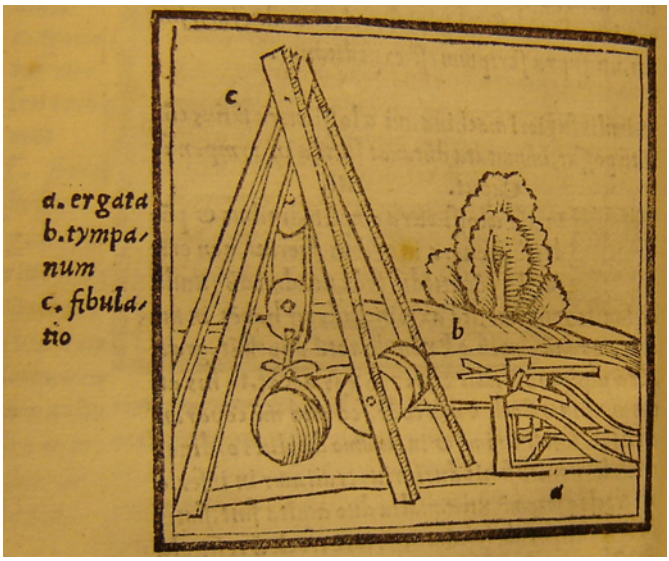

Fig. 5c. *Pulley and windlass*, engraving, from: Vitruvius, *De architectura,* ed. Fra Giocondo (Florence: Giunti, 1513) 164.

In the Latin edition of the treatise of martyrdom, Gallonio made a clear distinction between the wine press and olive press on the one hand and the press used in book printing on the other. In the seventh chapter Gallonio explains that martyrs that were to be put into a cooking pot did not always fit in straight away. Their bodies had to be compressed in a press first, so that their knees were pushed close to their heads. The reader was expected to realize that this was not the wine or olive press discussed in the second chapter, but the instrument with which cloth weavers, paper makers and book printers practiced their profession. The text of his source, the *Fourth Book of Maccabees*, used the term *praelum*, meaning 'beam'. Gallonio claimed that in this case *praelum* referred to the whole press, even if the word in the literal sense only signified the flat plate or beam by which pressure was exerted on the object to be compressed. He appealed to Guillaume Budé to justify interpreting the word *praelum* as

afferri iusserunt, [. . .] haec ibi. Ceterum interpres, ubi nos torcular posuimus, cochlea. vertit; & certe, ni fallamur, minus proprie: nam (ut inquiunt Acta) positus fuit in ea machina, in qua compressus, singula eius ossa fuere confracta. At quis iam non videat non fuisse vertendum cochleam, sed potius instrumenti pressorii nomen, nempe, torcular?' Gallonio, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, 42–43.

a *pars pro toto*.[24] Gallonio visualized an apparatus in which a person was flattened, instead of being squeezed like a fruit. He found the printing press, or the paper or cloth press, more suitable for this than the agricultural press.

In this way, Gallonio creatively manipulated texts, with the mechanics of the instruments constantly in mind. As indicated above, there is no praise in these passages for the printing press as one of the most important inventions of his time. Yet he did reflect on inventions and progress. He stated that modern cooking utensils derived from those of Antiquity. Modern examples were indeed better made than their antique prototypes, but that was a modest achievement. It was, after all, easy to improve on inventions that already existed: 'Siquidem (ut dixit ille) facile est inventis addere'. This was, in fact, a rhetorical commonplace that sixteenth-century champions of engineering used to emphasize the step-by-step progress in man's technological abilities. Gallonio used the same wording precisely to downplay the improvements of his own time: the real ingenuity had been displayed in Antiquity.[25] He did not share the appreciation of the inherent value of technological innovation and progress.

Principally, for Gallonio, machines were rhetorical instruments which he employed in his hagiography to instigate devotion. This pastoral method was not unique to him. An important forerunner of the Oratorians in the field of preaching and spiritual leadership was Saint Antonino Pierozzi, discussed by Gallonio in his treatise about saints who had not yet been canonized (see § 3.2). This Dominican and Archbishop of

[24] 'Ad haec, coniiciebantur etiam in ollam sic praelo pressi, atque plicati, ut caput eorum ad genua pellerentur. Huius alterius modi testis est Iosephus loco cit. […] Advertat hic lector, Iosephum per praelum denotasse quoddam instrumenti pressorii genus: praelum quippe non tantum trabem illam significat, qua in torculari uva, vel oliva calcata premitur, sed etiam, Budeo teste, instrumentum pressorium, quo potissimum pannarii, chartarii, & librorum impressores utuntur. Unde Plinius lib. 13. cap. 12. de chartarum generibus: Premuntur, inquit, deinde praelis, & siccantur Sole, atque inter se pagellae iunguntur.] haec ille.' Ibid., 156. In this quotation Gallonio cites the *Fourth Book of Maccabees*, which in the sixteenth century was known as a work by Flavius Josephus, but which is currently attributed to an anonymous Jewish author of around 100 A.D. See T.C. Vriezen and A.S. van der Woude, *Ancient Israelite and Early Jewish Literature*, transl. Brian Doyle (Leiden: Brill, 2005 [Kampen: Kok, 2000]) 587–590.

[25] Gallonio, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, 134–135. Although Gallonio suggests quoting a specific source here ('ut dixit ille'), there is nothing to make me think that this short sentence is anything more than a simple saying. For its use as a commonplace in Venetian inventors' patents and by Heinrich Zeising, the German author of a machine theater that was published in the early seventeenth century: Popplow, *Neu, nützlich und erfindungsreich*, 118.

Florence lived in the middle of the fifteenth century. He is well known as a practical pastor, who in his sermons and works on moral theology avoided speculation. He preferred to discuss issues and situations taken from the daily life of the Florentines. In Florence, the development and practical applications of geometry burgeoned, such as the scale projection of three-dimensional spaces and the cartographical grid, techniques that contributed to the graphic representation of mechanics and technology. Accordingly, Antonino drew, for example, on optics, a derivative of geometry, as a source of metaphors for his sermons. He described divine mercy as a ray of light that at noon strikes the earth at a right angle, thus giving off the most heat.[26] In this way the archbishop used worldly achievements that fascinated his own contemporaries. Antonino had close connections with the Dominican monastery of San Marco where Neri had received part of his religious education in his early years. The sainted archbishop was later to be an example for Neri to follow.[27] Via his own spiritual father, Gallonio could thus draw on a long tradition of the use of mechanical images for the benefit of spiritual edification.

In his two-part book on the tokens of the true church, *De signis ecclesiae Dei*, Gallonio's fellow Oratorian Bozio devoted several chapters to the intellectual and practical attainments of Catholic Christian society. For Bozio this was a rhetorical exercise as much as it was for Gallonio, with a polemical objective which was even more explicit than that of the treatise on martyrdom. Bozio composed his work in order to demonstrate that in all respects the Roman Catholic Church was the only true church of God, and that the Protestant churches could only bring doom. To that end he adduced theological points, such as the necessity of the sacraments and the value of praying to Mary and the saints, and historical and juridical points, such as the continuous succession of the popes since the time of Peter and the justice of canon law. Besides this, he also summed up high points of virtue, philosophy and the liberal and mechanical arts. In the

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[26] Edgerton, *The Heritage of Giotto's Geometry*, 102–105. For Antonino Pierozzi and his use of imagery relating to the life of the Florentine middle class in his moral-theological works: Maria Pia Paoli, 'Antonino da Firenze O.P. e la direzione dei laici' in: Gabriella Zarri ed., *Storia della direzione spirituale* III *L'età moderna* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2008) 85–130 (90–92, 98–99).

[27] Antonio Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri, l'Oratorio e la Congregazione oratoriana. Storia e spiritualità* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 1989) I, 19. Neri possessed two of Antonino's works and, furthermore, his painted portrait. Costanza Barbieri, '"Invisibilia per visibilia": S. Filippo Neri, le immagini e la contemplazione' in: *La regola e la fama. San Filippo Neri e l'arte*, exhibition catalogue (Milan: Electa, 1995) 64–79 (64–66, 72).

chapter 'Peritia catholicorum in omnibus disciplinis', on the expertise of Catholics in all disciplines, he mentions, among others, those who distinguished themselves in the development of navigation, shipbuilding, hydraulic engineering, astronomical instruments, cranes, clocks, typography and spectacles.[28] Bozio interpreted these inventions as heavenly achievements, to be ascribed to divine mercy. Typography was a 'gift from heaven delivered to the world by the Catholics'.[29] In contrast to Gallonio, Bozio emphasized precisely the usefulness of these products of the human aspiration to control the world. Bozio appropriated the generally held admiration for technological developments for the Church of Rome, while Gallonio saw absolutely no need to put a positive value on technology. For him, spiritual development and the endurance it brought with it in worldly matters was of greater worth.

Gallonio was not the only one who believed that the added value of technological and philosophical innovations was limited, and his allies were not only priests. Some scholars and technical experts also did not rate the creative genius of modern man very highly. While those such as Besson, Errard and Ramelli composed their lavishly illustrated publications to create an impression of the ingenuity of contemporary humanity, others kept their eyes firmly focused on the attainments of Antiquity. Andrea Bacci, for example, for three decades teacher of medicine at the Sapienza University and well known for his balneological studies, was no proponent of new outlooks on water management. In assessing the potability of water and the combating of flooding, he preferred to use the ancient literary sources above the expertise of his contemporaries. For both architectonic insights and the organization of the responsible agencies, he followed examples from the ancient imperial period.[30]

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[28] Carlo Poni, 'Economia, scienza, tecnologia e controriforma: la teologia polemica di Tommaso Bozio' in: Paolo Prodi and Wolfgang Reinhard eds., *Il Concilio di Trento e il moderno* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1996) 503–542 (509–527).

[29] 'per catholicos orbi caelitus data', Tommaso Bozio, *De signis ecclesiae Dei* (Cologne: J. Gymnich, 1592–1593) I, 465.

[30] Nancy G. Siraisi, '*Historiae*, natural history, Roman Antiquity, and some Roman physicians' in: Gianna Pomata and Nancy G. Siraisi eds., *Historia: Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2005) 325–354 (332–333, 339); Richard Palmer, '"In this our lightye and learned tyme": Italian baths in the era of the Renaissance' in: Roy Porter ed., *The Medical History of Waters and Spas* (London: Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 1990) 14–22 (15–19); Cesare d'Onofrio, *Le fontane di Roma* (Rome: Romana Società, 1986) 39–42. Between 1567 and 1599, Bacci fulfilled the function of teacher of *simplicia* in most of the years for which academic personnel are registered in the rolls of the Sapienza: Emanuele Conte ed., *I maestri della Sapienza di Roma dal 1514 al 1787: i rotuli*

His judgment of the importance of innovations was at odds with that of Giovanni Battista Modio. It was mentioned earlier how Modio is presented in Gallonio's *Vita* of Neri, not as an innovator but as a penitent.[31] Bacci, on the other hand, is the only contemporary physician from whose work Gallonio drew substantively for his own writings. In the treatise of martyrdom the priest discusses the Roman practice of murdering criminals and Christians in baths. He argues in detail that Saint Cecilia, imprisoned in a bath, was exposed to hot air for a day in the *laconicum* or *sudatorium*, the sweating chamber in the Roman baths. The *sudatorium*, after all, was the only place where the *air* was hot, while in the next room, the *calidarium*, it was the *water* that was hot. Gallonio refers for this line of thought to works of Galen, Celsus and Aulus Gellius and, as the only piece of contemporary writing, to *De thermis* by Andrea Bacci.[32] His choice of authors reflects his tendency to dismiss the human ability to devise new technology of any value, and his attachment to the superiority of Antiquity.

In military technology too, for some authors Antiquity overshadowed the modern discoveries. The antiquarian studies into the Roman army and military material by Lipsius, and also, for example, the military-technological observations of Alfonso Chacón in his antiquarian book about Trajan's Column, are written from a perspective different from the machine theaters, which presented military constructions as new inventions.[33] Lipsius and Chacón reconstructed the attainments of the ancients, whereas the authors of the machine theaters thought up mechanical solutions themselves. As a matter of fact, belief in the superiority of Antiquity and belief in human progress were not mutually exclusive. Girolamo Maggi (†1572), a writer on military matters who for much of his material drew on ancient authors, was commissioned in 1570 by the Venetian city authorities to improve the defensive fortifications of the Cypriot city of Famagusta. The *Consiglio dei Dieci* decided to give the antiquarian-oriented scholar with his far-fetched and fantastic plans the benefit of the doubt. The *Consiglio* justified their decision by pointing out

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e le altre fonti (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1991) I, 47, 69, 110, 122, 131, 135, 140, 145, 149.

[31] See § 4.2.

[32] Although Gallonio refers to the work by Bacci as *De balneis*, he doubtless means *De thermis*: Andrea Bacci, *De thermis libri septem* (Venice: Valgrisi, 1588[2] [1571]).

[33] Alfonso Chacón, *Historia utriusque belli Dacici a Traiano Caesare gesti* (Rome: L. Zannetti and B. Tosi, 1576). For the interpretation of this work as a study of military technology rather than a study of the history of the Dacian Wars: Ingo Herklotz, *Cassiano dal Pozzo und die Archäologie des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Hirmer, 1999) 222–225.

that the ingenuity of men like Maggi often produced unexpectedly useful contraptions.[34] Inventors who relied on bookish knowledge were clearly no less able to convince their prospective patrons than engineers with practical experience.

For Gallonio, bookish knowledge was far superior to practical inventions such as the printing press, the cannon or the compass. The inventions that he described were by definition signs of the vain hope of mankind to advance itself. When he had need of an authority to call upon, a classical source was sufficient. That a pulley was a wheel and not a winch, for example, became sufficiently clear from Vitruvius. It was a little bronze or wooden wheel which, with the help of a rope, could rotate on an axle.[35] For this, Gallonio consulted his own copy of *De architectura* by Vitruvius, in the first illustrated edition corrected by Fra Giocondo (1435ca.–1515). The tenth book of this related to machinery (Fig. 5c).[36]

Even so, Gallonio did not always faithfully follow ancient literary tradition with regard to armaments and machinery. The mechanisms of the tortures to which martyrs were subjected did not have to be precisely the same as those of the weaponry on which Gallonio modeled them. The need to consistently interpret the martyrological tradition sometimes forced him into a difficult position. Such was the case, for instance, with the *catapulta*, which appeared in the *Fourth Book of Maccabees*. Gallonio mentions the accepted meaning of 'catapult', an instrument of war with which to fire arrows, just like stones were launched by the ballista. In *Poliorceticon*, Lipsius had included a chapter about the terms 'catapult' and 'ballista', and the development of the meanings of these terms in the course of Antiquity.[37] According to Gallonio, the catapult as ordnance was different from the catapult as a means of torture.

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[34] 'Le molte inventioni che nelli antiqui tempi et nelli moderni ancora sono state ritrovate dall'ingegno delli homini, le quali prima che fussero poste in uso sariano state giudicate impossibili, fanno credere che anco al presente si ne possano ritrovare de simili et de maggiori, essendo che li humani ingegni sempre più s'assotigliano.' Quoted from the deliberations of the *Consiglio dei Dieci* in J.R. Hale, 'Girolamo Maggi: a Renaissance scholar and military buff', *Italian Studies: A Quarterly Review* 40 (1985) 31–50 (39–40).

[35] 'Trochlea (ut ex Vitruvii lib. 10. cap. 2. 3. 4. 5. & 11. constat) tractorii generis est machina, cum aereo, aut ligneo orbiculo, sive rotula, quae per axiculum versatur traiecto fune ductario.' Gallonio, *De sanctorum maryrum cruciatibus*, 40.

[36] Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, ed. Fra Giocondo (Florence: Giunti, 1513). For this edition: Lucia A. Ciapponi, 'Fra Giocondo da Verona and his Edition of Vitruvius', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 47 (1984) 72–90. Gallonio possessed a copy of this: ASR, Notai A.C. Vol. 66 f. 131vo.

[37] Lipsius, *Poliorceticon*, 119–124.

As to the latter, it was a sort of leg iron. This assertion shows that what mattered was the preservation of the martyrological significance of existing hagiographical texts, rather than the different mechanical versions of the catapult. Therefore, the Oratorian ignored texts in which the catapult was described as a ballistic instrument, such as the texts of ancient writers that Lipsius cited: Livy, Caesar, Ammianus Marcellinus and Vegetius. When defining a catapult as a leg iron, Gallonio refers to the historian Suidas and the poet Plautus, instead.[38]

Gallonio turned around the machinery that the ambitious aristocracy used for their worldly triumphs and displayed it as a set of instruments of martyrdom. The machines had no inherent importance as products of the human spirit and did not have to satisfy the characteristics of mechanical tradition. The martyrological instruments were in the first place emblems of God's mercy and of the submissiveness of the martyrs, whom the Catholic nobility ought to contemplate and imitate.

5.2 *Technical Operation*

Gallonio was primarily interested in martyrology, not in technology. Nevertheless, in some instances he was forced to substantiate his reconstructions with logical argumentation regarding the technology of the devices. In the Latin edition of the treatise of martyrdom in particular, the priest in some places engages in debates about the technological aspects of antiquarian questions. The reconstruction of the *equuleus*, about which Gallonio entered into dialogue with the antiquarian Carlo Sigonio directly and the military engineer Girolamo Maggi indirectly, is a shining example of this. Such discussions served not only to rediscover the meaning of long-forgotten terms, but also to create an unequivocal vocabulary for the description of contemporary phenomena.

Reliable Sources and Technical Logic

Martyrology, not technology, was Gallonio's interest. Nonetheless, Gallonio was repeatedly obliged to think through the physical consequences of what could be read in the Acts of the Martyrs. Take, for example, the

[38] 'Catapulta nonnumquam sumitur pro machina bellica ad iaciendas sagittas fabricata, sicuti balistae ad iaciendos lapides; hic autem sumitur pro instrumento torquendi. Hinc Suidas ait esse tormenti genus, dicens, vinculis manuum, catapultis pedum. & Plautus, te nervo torquebo itidem, ut catapultae solent.' Gallonio, *De sanctorum maryrum cruciatibus*, 35.

martyrdom of Saint Anastasia. In the third century this young lady had been subjected to a series of horrendous tortures. The administrator Probus had her bound to a wheel which was then rotated over the ground, causing her bones to be broken and her tendons to snap. He then had her flesh torn open, her breasts cut off, her nails pulled, her tongue ripped out, and her teeth pulled out. All this made Anastasia thirsty and she asked for water, which was given her by a fellow believer. Finally, Probus had her beheaded outside the city.[39]

The manner in which, step by step, Anastasia lost parts of her body can be read as a metaphor for giving oneself up, body and soul, into God's hands. This is also alluded to in the text when Anastasia expresses the hope that each individual limb would sing praise to God.[40] However, Gallonio wanted to convince his readership that the events had actually taken place as described. In a note he explains that it perhaps seemed strange that Anastasia could ask for water despite no longer having a tongue with which to speak or hands with which to gesticulate. It was, however, the privilege of martyrs to be able to speak without a tongue. Gallonio, of course, justifies his assertion by quoting sources of similar instances of martyrs talking despite the required bodily faculties having been disabled. The tortured Saint Placidus had been perfectly able to talk without a tongue, as could be read in the *historia* of his sister, Saint Flavia. Furthermore, in the *Dialoghi*, Gregory the Great had discussed bishops who could speak although their tongues had been ripped out. In order to remove any last remaining doubt, Gallonio added a practical alternative. It was possible that Anastasia, despite her hands having been cut off, had beckoned with what remained of her arms.[41]

This combination of literary references and logical reasoning forms the foundation of many of Gallonio's reconstructions of martyrological instruments. Pierpaolo Crescenzi, the judge and younger brother of Giacomo, mentions these two elements explicitly in his foreword to the Latin

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[39] Antonio Gallonio, *Historia delle sante vergini romane* (Rome: A. and G. Donangeli, 1591 [i.e. 1593]) 199–202.

[40] 'deh fammi una volta dividere in più parti le membra; ordina, che mi si tagli la lingua, le mani, le ungie, mi si cavino i denti, essendo che quanta io sono tutte le parti del corpo mio, tutta mi debbo al mio Creatore, e questa è stata del continuo l'ardentissima sete del mio cuore, che egli restasse in ciaschuna parte delle mie membra glorificato, e che esse poi avanti il suo trono regale fossero con la beltà, e l'ornamento della sincera confessione mia presentate.' Ibid., 199.

[41] 'Si potrebbe ancora dire, che se bene l'erano state tagliate le mani, con tutto ciò poteva ella col restante del braccio con cenni domandar da bere: e questo basti.' Ibid., 202–203.

edition of Gallonio's treatise of martyrdom. According to Crescenzi, the author avoided every semblance of inaccuracy by founding the details of his treatise on soundly based argumentation, and by quoting the most authoritative authors to underpin them.[42] With the help of technical logic and reliable source fragments, Gallonio, particularly in his Latin edition, tried to realistically reconstruct the known martyrological instruments.

A good example of how Gallonio combined reliable sources and technical logic in the reconstruction of the mechanics of instruments of torture is his discussion of the *equuleus*. This instrument was a rack to which the victim was bound and then stretched, dislocating and eventually separating his joints. In the Italian version, Gallonio devotes an entire chapter to the *equuleus*, and in the Latin version the section on this apparatus is by far the longest treatment of a single instrument of torture.[43] In both editions Gallonio explains what the *equuleus* must have looked like, how the apparatus worked, and what the names of its components were. In the Latin edition the discussion is preceded by a brief overview of the ideas of others about the apparatus. Gallonio closely followed what his fellow Oratorian Bozio had written about the *equuleus*.[44] Furthermore, he expressed extensive criticism of the ideas of Carlo Sigonio.[45]

Sigonio, the humanist from Modena, involved himself primarily in Roman history and antiquities. He had studied philosophy and medicine, and was a professor of classical languages and history at the Universities of Padua and Bologna. He published philological studies on political theory, institutional history and chronology: books on the Hebrew Repub-

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[42] 'Sunt enim singula quaeque (id quod inter legendum passim occurret) tum firmissimis probata rationibus, tum etiam ita gravissimorum hominum sententiis & auctoritate firmata, ut non mendacium modo, sed ipsius etiam mendacii suspicionem vitare facillime possint.' Gallonio, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, +3ro (preface to the reader by Pierpaolo Crescenzi).

[43] Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio*, 34–41; idem, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, 47–68.

[44] 'Disconvengono poi in assegnargli la forma: intorno à che, per fuggire troppa lungezza, mi sono risoluto riferire l'opinione del P. Thomaso Bozzi, la quale tra tutte le altre mi è parsa più conforme al vero, narrata da lui nell'historia che ha scritta de'nostri santi Papia, e Mauro, non ancor data in luce', Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio*, 35–36; 'Fuit huius opinionis P. Thomas Bozius nostrae Congregationis sacerdos, in historia, quam de sanctis martyribus Papia & Mauro descripsit, nondum excusa.' Gallonio, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, 49. The *historia* of Papias and Maurus by Bozio was never published. A handwritten description of the *equuleus* was among Bozio's papers, though: BibVal Ms. N.76 ff. 209ro–210ro. More on this in § 5.3.

[45] Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio*, 38–39; idem, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, 54–63.

lic, the Republic of Athens, the Roman Republic, the Roman Empire and medieval Italy.[46] However, he also wrote about religio-historical and hagiographical subjects. For example, he was commissioned by Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti (1524–1597) to revise the liturgical readings of Bologna's patron saint, Petronius.[47]

Just like the *Annales ecclesiastici* by Baronio, many of Sigonio's books are of an annalistic nature, based on the terms of office of administrators. Conversely, some works are structured thematically, as are Gallonio's treatises of martyrdom. An example of this is *De iudiciis*, a study of the practice of the Roman judicial process. This is the work that Gallonio reacted to in his discussion of the *equuleus*.[48] In *De iudiciis* Sigonio treats matters such as the origins of judges, the functioning of jury law and the instructions relating to the hearing of witnesses.[49] The explanation of the *equuleus* is one of the roughly twenty subjects covered.

According to Sigonio, the *equuleus* was initially an instrument for obtaining confessions of criminals and slaves. Later, the apparatus was used in order to inflict pain, especially during the persecution of Christians. He describes it as a wooden frame, which could be folded and unfolded. The victims were tied with ropes by their arms and legs to the frame. By unfolding the frame, their bones could be separated from one another. In this configuration the rack could be stood upright, so that the victim hung from it as if on a cross.[50] Sigonio refers to various sources: the pagan authors Cicero, Quintilian, Seneca, Suetonius, Pomponius and

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[46] William McCuaig, *Carlo Sigonio. The Changing World of the Late Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989) 3–95.

[47] Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 63–66.

[48] I consulted the edition: Carlo Sigonio, *De iudiciis libri tres* in: idem, *De antiquo jure* (Hanau: Wechel, 1609) 353–464.

[49] McCuaig, *Carlo Sigonio*, 165–168, 349.

[50] 'Quis vero, aut qualis Eculeus fuerit, qui inter antiqua tormentorum genera numeratur, nemo adhuc litteris prodidit. Quantum autem ex veterum non levissimis elici monumentis potest, Eculeus catasta fuit lignea, cochleata, ad intendendum ac remittendum apta, atque ad torquendos homines, ut in facti veritas eliceretur, instituta. Tormenti vero genus erat huiusmodi: Ubi catastae huic brachia, pedesque eius, qui torquendus erat, nervis quibusdam, quae fidiculae dicebantur, alligaverant, tum catasta intenta, atque in altum erecta, ut ex eo, quasi ex cruce quadam miser ille penderet, primum compagem ipsam ossium illius divellebant, deinde candentibus eiusdem corpori laminis admotis, atque bisulcis ungulis ferreis lateribus laniatis, doloris acerbitatem augebant. [...] Extorquendae autem de servis veritatis caussa, eculeum adhibitum fuisse, & supra significavimus, cum de quaestionibus diximus, & docet Cicero [...]. Translatus est inde eculeus ad cruciandos homines, & acerbiore supplicio afficiendos. quod in Christianis martyribus patuit.' Sigonio, *De iudiciis libri tres*, 456–457.

Valerius Maximus and the Christian writers Prudentius, Cyprian and Sozomen. The scholar from Modena valued all sources equally, just like Baronio and Gallonio did in their works. He perused texts by rhetoricians, poets and historians, heathens and Christians indiscriminately.

Gallonio documented his divergent reconstruction of the *equuleus* extensively in the Latin edition of the martyrological treatise, and refuted the reconstruction by Sigonio element by element. The priest had in mind a horizontal beam with pulleys at the ends, supported by four legs (Fig. 5l). The victim lay on his back on the beam, high above the ground. The ropes with which the victim's hands and feet were bound ran over the wheels at the ends of the beam and were fastened to axles that could be rotated. The torturer alternately stretched the victim tightly along the beam, then let him dangle loosely beneath it.[51] For the form of the apparatus and the position of the victim, Gallonio referred to the same source fragments as Sigonio. However, with regard to the ropes that could be wound around the axles he brought Vitruvius into the discussion. In *De architectura* the latter had described windlasses into which levers were fixed, which, when used in combination with a rope, could move or lift a heavy weight. This Vitruvian mechanism fit in better with the apparatus on four legs that Gallonio envisaged than with the type of folding framework described by Sigonio.[52]

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[51] Although Gallonio repeats the different elements of his reconstruction time and again, they all come together fairly succinctly in the following passage: 'Ut autem clarius & dilucidius, quae paulo ante & quae proxime de equuleo diximus, percipiantur; sciri convenit, consuevisse veteres hoc modo equuleum construere. Praeparabant initio operis faciundi stipitem rectum, longitudinis latitudinisve convenientis: in cuius extremis partibus, ipsorum industria aliquantulum excavatis, duas striatas rotulas, quae per axiculos verti possent, indebant: tum deinde, ut ex omni parte elevatus remaneret e terra, desumebant quatuor ligna eo paulo arctiora, atque minora, quae deinceps clavis ferreis non longe ab ultimis stipitis partibus affigentes, fabricabant machinam quatuor quasi pedibus veri equi instar insistentem. Quo peracto, si quis ibi equuleo torquendus aderat, in ipsum, vi cruribus devaricatis, coniiciebatur. Post haec tortores funiculos aliquos sumentes, illorum altero cruciandi pedes, altero manus post tergum reiectas atque distortas vinciebant. Tunc rotulis, sive orbiculis funiculos praedictos immittentes, & ad machinulam aliquam equulei pedibus affixam, succulae (ut nobis probatur) similem, eosdem referentes, efficiebant, brachiorum ductu machinulam versantes, ut funiculi circa eam se involventes, extenderentur; & deinceps, ut illis alligatus, dorso super equuleum, & facie ad caelum versa, pariter extenderetur. Verum cum iterum ac saepius in machinula vertenda defatigari non desisterent, & ex hoc singula iam vincti membra, cunctis compagibus resolutis, essent distracta, longo temporis spatio vel sic eum permanere sinebant; vel, Iudice annuente, funiculos relaxantes, incurvum ac pendulum sub equuleo cadere, non sine maximo dolore faciebant.' Gallonio, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, 50–51.

[52] 'Has autem machinulas fuisse in equuleo, praeter id quod ex Eusebio asseruimus, posset etiam fortasse confirmari ex his, quae habet Vitruvius lib. 10. cap. 2. 3. & 4. trac-

In a number of elements of criticism that Gallonio leveled at Sigonio's reconstruction of the *equuleus*, besides authoritative ancient source texts (the 'authority of the most trustworthy men' that Crescenzi had underscored in the preface), Gallonio also creatively developed arguments of his own (the 'robust reasoning' lauded by Crescenzi). Sigonio had stated that the *equuleus* had holes into which the victim's feet were pushed. According to Gallonio, this implied that the victim, once the torturer unfolded the framework, would become broader. Seneca, however, had clearly written that the victim on the *equuleus* would not become *broader*, but *taller*. Gallonio surmised that Sigonio had misunderstood the passage by Eusebius which he had quoted. This passage, according to the Oratorian, did not relate to the *equuleus* but to leg irons, which were, after all, more suited for holes in which the feet of the victim were fixed, consequently pulling his legs apart.[53]

Again, Sigonio claimed that when the ropes of the *equuleus* were slackened the victim's pain was alleviated. This would be correct if the victim had been stretched with these ropes on a framework that was first unfolded (straining the victim) and then folded again (causing relaxation). However, Gallonio noted that according to the source texts, after the tension of the ropes had been released the victim dangled with distorted body under the *equuleus*. He failed to see how someone stretched out on an upright framework as if on a cross, would dangle underneath it in a twisted position after the ropes had been relaxed. Such a position seemed more likely for someone who had been stretched horizontally along a beam and then had fallen with a jerk to hang under it. Gallonio concluded that the loosening of the ropes was not accompanied by a reduction in the pain at all, but on the contrary exacerbated it.[54] We see Gallonio's 'robust reasoning'

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tans de trochlearum usu, atque de aliis tractoriis machinis, ut de ergata, & succulis: docet enim, ductarium funem per trochleam, quam nonnulli etiam rhecamum dicunt, traiectum, debere postremo, ut onera per ipsum sublevari, vel dimoveri queant, ad aliquam machinam referri.' Ibid., 53–54.

53 'Nunc agamus de genere illo compedum, quo rei in carcere positi, iniectis ad quartum vel quintum foramen pedibus, ad perennem cruciatum detinebantur. Sensit de hoc Sigonius loco praedicto, non aliud esse ab equuleo, sed prorsus idem cum illo: quod certe dici nulla ratione potest: tum quia hoc damnati homines latiores fiebant, illo vero (ut supra ex epistola 67. Senecae retulimus) longiores', ibid., 63.

54 'Quod autem funiculis, qui extensi erant, laxatis, rei incurvatis corporibus sub equulei machinam caderent, testatur (ut alio omittamus) Ammianus Marcellinus lib. 16. [...] quibus verbis, [...], significavit auctor, augendi doloris gratia laxatos fuisse funiculos, & non (ut Sigonio, eumque sequentibus placuit) eiusdem remittendi causa: arbitratus est quippe vir iste lib. 3. de iudiciis cap. 18. consuevisse veteres, remittendi doloris studio, funiculos, quibus in equuleo reorum corpora erant extensa, relaxare.' Ibid., 54.

in full force here, deployed to get the 'authority of the most trustworthy men' to support his martyrological reconstruction over Sigonio's—and incidentally making the *equuleus* an even more gruesome instrument.

Apart from Sigonio and Gallonio, Girolamo Maggi also applied himself to the reconstruction of the *equuleus* during the same decades, yet in entirely different circumstances. When the military engineer wrote his work about the *equuleus*, he was nowhere near his library. After having won the trust of the Venetian *Consiglio*, he assisted in the defence of the Cypriot cities of Famagusta and Nicosia against the Ottomans in 1571. Despite his efforts the cities fell as a result of the Ottomans' overwhelmingly superior strength and Maggi ended up in Turkish imprisonment. As a slave in Constantinople he wrote two small works which he dedicated to the ambassadors of the French king and the Holy Roman Emperor at the Ottoman Porte, urging them to arrange his release. This was to no avail; Maggi was strangled to death in prison in 1572.[55] After some peregrinations, his book about the *equuleus* came into the hands of a German philologist, Gotthard Jungermann who, after making extensive corrections, published it 1609, long after its author's death.[56]

The text is only half complete. Maggi cited in detail from his sources, although Jungermann may have corrected and supplemented the quotations later on the basis of the manuscript. After a brief introduction, in nine short chapters Maggi first describes what predecessors had claimed about the *equuleus*—much like Gallonio in the Latin version of the treatise of martyrdom. He names many more authors than Gallonio, including some more recent ones: Lorenzo Valla, Ambrogio Calepini, Raffaele Regio, Andrea Alciati, Aldo Manuzio, Conrad Gesner, Girolamo Cardano, and finally Carlo Sigonio. Maggi is critical of all of them.

The last chapter that Jungermann published is a collection of loose observations by Maggi, combined with fragments from ancient sources. This should have been Maggi's own reconstruction of the *equuleus*. His ideas about the working of the *equuleus* seem to concur roughly with those of Gallonio. He explains that since the word *equuleus* derived from *equus*, the apparatus must have had four legs. Maggi argues further that the victims on the *equuleus* became taller, based on what Seneca wrote.

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[55] For Girolamo Maggi and his role in the siege of Famagusta and Nicosia: Hale, 'Girolamo Maggi', *passim*.

[56] Girolamo Maggi, *De equuleo hactenus incognito liber*, ed. Gottfried Jungermann (Hanau: Wechel, 1609). I consulted an edition that is included in a seventeenth-century publication of the treatise of martyrdom: Antonio Gallonio, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus liber*, ed. Raphael Trichet du Fresne (Paris: C. Cramoisy, 1660).

He refers to Vitruvius and Oribasius for details regarding the axle that would have been attached to the *equuleus*, on which a lever was mounted, in order to exercise more force on the body. These notes are alternated with exactly the same quotations from Valerius Maximus, Quintilian and Prudentius that Sigonio and, later, Gallonio drew upon. Although Maggi was unable to elaborate the argumentation of his own ideas about the *equuleus* into a complete text, the arguments can be followed in broad outlines. His reconstruction is very similar to that of Gallonio.

The reconstruction of the *equuleus* is a good example of how in technical aspects Gallonio went further than was strictly necessary for a devotional work. Comparing the passages on the *equuleus* of Maggi, Sigonio and Gallonio, it would seem that scholars with apparently entirely different backgrounds were prone to make similar pronouncements about the function, construction and working of a complex instrument of torture. The discussion that Gallonio entered into with Sigonio as to whether the loosening of the ropes of the *equuleus* was accompanied by an increase or decrease in the pain suffered by the victim, was carried out via a reconstruction of the mechanics of the apparatus. Gallonio reflected on the transference of force, appealing to Vitruvius, as did the engineer Maggi. The reconstruction of this instrument of torture pertained to the combined disciplines of hagiography, jurisprudence and mechanical engineering. We shall see in the next section that it was relevant, not only to the rediscovery of the meaning of long-lost terms, but also to the creation of an unambiguous vocabulary for the description of contemporary experiences.

The Topicality of Mechanical Reconstructions

Girolamo Maggi's contribution to the debate about the *equuleus*, published posthumously and incomplete, is a significant example of how the reception of classical themes was interwoven with actual experience. He aimed at reconstructing a functioning machine, making use of ancient sources. The preface to his treatise on the *equuleus* implies that the Acts of Martyrs, pagan literature and his own current experience in captivity blended naturally in his mind. As a prisoner he could not help but think about handcuffs, leg irons, scourges, torture, axes and cruel executions, contemporary as well as ancient. The *equuleus* entered his thoughts particularly often, as it was so frequently mentioned in ancient literature and martyrology.[57] He was induced to write his erudite treatise by the extreme

[57] 'vincula, compedes, flagra, tormenta, secures, mortisque genera saevissima.' Gallonio, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, ed. Trichet du Fresne, 270.

circumstances in which he found himself. Likewise, Gallonio was inspired for his loquacious explanations of Latin terms not only by the desire to understand ancient texts, but also by objects and events that he encountered in his own time.

Consequently, we see Gallonio juggling with an object that appealed to the imagination of the Counter-Reformation Church: a pair of tongs that had been unearthed during the pontificate of Paul III (1468–1550, pope 1534) while work was being carried out on Saint Peter's. It was soon identified as an instrument with which Christian martyrs had been put to torture, and to this day it is kept in the treasure of Saint Peter's (Fig. 5t).[58] This is one of the few instances where Gallonio's personal observation and contemplation of an object of Christian archaeology is actually verifiable (cfr. § 2.2). In the fifth chapter of his treatise of martyrdom, which discusses instruments with which the pagans tore apart the flesh of Christians, Gallonio declares that he had viewed, and undeservingly touched and kissed the tongs.[59] He also wonders what purpose the object had actually served. He thus integrated devotion to and rational reconstruction of the objects that seemed to illustrate with their physical presence the Acts of the Martyrs. Gallonio both revered and analyzed the tongs in Saint Peter's.

Some were of the opinion that the object was a *scorpio*, 'scorpion', well known from martyrological literature. According to Gallonio that was incorrect. He had already explained in the previous chapter that

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[58] For these tongs, also mentioned by Pirro Ligorio, Onofrio Panvinio and Antonio Bosio: Carmelo Occhipinti, *Pirro Ligorio e la storia cristiana di Roma (da Costantino all'Umanesimo)* (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2007) 365. Giovanni Severano, the Oratorian who published Bosio's work, described the tongs as follows: 'Si vede in essa Chiesa [i.e. Saint Peter's] medesimamente un'Ungola, cioè una Tanaglia dentata, con la quale si dilaniavano le sacre carni de Martiri. Questa fù trovata à tempo di Paolo III. frà i Sepolcri de gl'istessi Martiri nella medesima Chiesa, e si può credere, che havesse servito à tormentare quei gloriosi Christiani, che furono fatti morire da Nerone nelli suoi Horti, come si disse: essendo soliti i fedeli di quei tempi sepellire, e riporre nelle Sepolture de Martiri gl'istromenti de Martirii loro, quando potevano haverli, che però se ne trovano tuttavia a i tempi nostri ne i Cemeterii sacri, che si scoprono.' Giovanni Severano, *Memorie sacre delle sette chiese di Roma e di altri luoghi, che si trovano per le strade di esse* (Rome: G. Mascardi, 1630) 153–154.

[59] 'Erano le ungule, secondo che si vede in quella, che sino al giorno di hoggi, nella sacrosanta Basilica Vaticana fra le reliquie si custodisce, da me veduta, & indegnamente toccata, e basciata, una specie di tanaglie di ferro, lavorate nel modo che hora si esplicerà.' Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio*, 62; 'Erant ungulae (sicut indicat illa, quae in hunc usque diem in basilica Vaticana inter sanctorum reliquias asservatur, a nobis licet indignis visa, &, ut par erat, venerata, & osculata) genus quoddam forcipis ferreae fabricatae eo modo, quo iam explicaturi sumus.' Idem, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, 129–130.

scorpiones were gnarled or thorny branches used for beating martyrs. If someone wanted to use the tongs to strike someone, they would have to squeeze together the two iron arms that were connected by a hinge. The points of the tongs that were curved inward would then serve no purpose. According to Gallonio it was more logical that the tongs had been used to squeeze flesh between the points so as to tear it from the body. Based on this reasoning he gave the tongs a name: *ungula*, 'claw'.[60] As with the *equuleus*, Gallonio imagined the functioning of the instrument, this time not to interpret a Latin term, but conversely to add the proper martyrological label to an object beneath his eyes.

The purpose of a correct martyrological vocabulary went beyond accuracy in the identification and depiction of sacred objects; it also served to phrase reports of contemporary events according to the conventions of hagiography. This allowed for the fashioning of new martyrdoms in accordance with the tradition of the Church. The need for accurate descriptions of contemporary, religion-inspired violence was very topical in the reports of the tortures and execution inflicted on Balthasar Gerards (1557ca.–1584), a contemporary of the Oratorians.

In the Dutch city of Delft in 1584, Gerards shot dead Prince William of Orange (1533–1584), the leader of the Dutch provinces that rebelled against the Catholic King Philip II of Spain (1527–1598, king 1556). Gerards was seized almost immediately and thrown into prison. For several days the magistrates in Delft had the man subjected to a series of most gruesome tortures. They then sentenced him to public execution, which was again accompanied by extensive physical violence. The executioners burned his limbs with red-hot irons, tore open his body, ripped out his heart and flung it in his face, quartered him, and subsequently put the dismembered remains of his body on display at several of Delft's city gates.[61]

Accounts of the assassination of the prince and the death of Gerards circulated very shortly after the events, both within Protestant and Catholic circles. From a Catholic perspective, the interrogation and execution of Balthasar Gerards came close to martyrdom. Catholics removed Gerards' remains from the city gates and kept them secretly as relics. Sasbout Vosmeer (1548–1612), the vicar apostolic who was responsible for the Catholics in the renegade Low Countries, tried to arrange for permission for

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[60] Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio*, 62–63; idem, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, 129–131.

[61] Lisa Jardine, *The Awful End of Prince William the Silent: the First Assassination of a Head of State with a Handgun* (London: HarperCollins, 2005).

the inhabitants of the Diocese of Cologne to publicly honor the executed murderer within the framework of the liturgy. Vosmeer endeavored to gain approval in Rome of the text of an *officium* that he had written in honor of Gerards. In chapter 3 we saw that veneration of recently deceased Catholics was a delicate issue, especially in the case of purported martyrdom. It is not surprising, therefore, that in 1604, on the instructions of Baronio, Vosmeer received the message that for the time being the ecclesiastical authorities could not accede to this request. In fact, Rome did not intend to endorse the liturgical celebration of the assassin at all.[62]

Although Gerards was not to receive official liturgical veneration, his ordeal appealed to the Oratorians' martyrological imagination. A copy of the account of the death of Gerards is present among the papers of Gallonio.[63] This is not the only instance of a report of recent violence and executions in Gallonio's dossier. There is also a series of excerpts from the *Theatrum crudelitatum*, Verstegan's graphic indictment of the cruelties perpetrated by the Protestants against the Catholics. Gallonio copied out the descriptions of tortures and executions from this polemical work in his own hand, omitting the accompanying poems. It was the factual details of the savagery committed that interested Gallonio.[64] He used these detailed accounts of cruelties in his treatises of martyrdom. The registration of the tortures and death of Gerards fit in with a wider interest in recent occurrences of the mechanics of martyrdom.

Gallonio was not the only Oratorian who took an interest in Gerards' gruesome execution. Bozio also mentions the torments to which Gerards was subjected in *De signis ecclesiae Dei*. He presents Gerards as a striking example of how Catholics excelled in bearing pain. In the same pas-

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62 Nanne Bosma, *Balthazar Gerards. Moordenaar and martelaar* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1983) 84–90, 94–96; Simon Schümmer (pater Gerlach), *De verhalen over de dood van Balthasar Gérard* (Tilburg: Bergmans, 1949) 3–6, 39–42.

63 BibVal Ms. H.6 ff. 157ro–159vo. This is a transcript—as far as I know unnoticed up to now—of the Latin report, three versions of which exist in Rome: BibVal Ms. N.22, ff. 267ro–268vo; BAV UrbLat 814^{II}, ff. 541ro–546vo; ASV, Misc. II Vol. 92, ff. 164ro–164vo and ff. 169ro–169vo. Gisbert Brom published the first of these three transcripts in the *Rijksgeschiedkundige Publicatiën* and drew attention to the existence of the other two: Gisbert Brom ed., *Archivalia in Italië belangrijk voor de geschiedenis van Nederland* III *Rome. Overige bibliotheken en archieven* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1914) 102–104 [nr. 94]; idem ed., *Archivalia in Italië belangrijk voor de geschiedenis van Nederland* II *Rome. Vaticaansche bibliotheek* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1911) 189 [nr. 107]; idem ed., *Archivalia in Italië belangrijk voor de geschiedenis van Nederland* I *Rome. Vaticaansch archief. Eerste stuk* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1908) 304 [nr. 876]. For the relation between these handwritten versions of the same text: Schümmer, *De verhalen over de dood*, 5–6, 11–14.

64 'Theatrum crudelitatum hereticorum nostri temporis', BibVal Ms. H.5 ff. 118vo–130vo.

sage he also devotes attention to Antonio Bragadin (†1571), the Venetian military commander-in-chief in the failed defence of Cyprus in 1571, which had proved to be Girolamo Maggi's undoing. The Ottoman forces had cut off Bragadin's nose and ears and later flayed him alive. Among other Catholics that Bozio mentioned as having displayed exemplary courage in bearing pain was Pope Pius V, who had good-humoredly borne and even welcomed a very painful attack of gallstones.[65] The trial and execution of Gerards did not satisfy the criterion for an acknowledged martyrdom, since it was hard to sustain that he was killed on account of his faith. Yet his death clearly appealed to the Oratorians' sensitivity for physical maltreatment connected with religious perseverance. The technical details of his interrogation and execution seemed very similar to the circumstances under which martyrs had often met their ends.

The text that describes the ultimate execution of Gerards contains several phrases that are very reminiscent of Gallonio's treatise of martyrdom. Gerards was made to climb the scaffold and was then tied to a stake. In all known Latin versions the account associates this stake with a cross: 'Palo, seu Cruci'.[66] In the first chapter of Gallonio's treatise, which discusses crosses, the author assures his reader that the category of 'crosses' also includes stakes. Gallonio again puts forward arguments that to some extent fall back on the authority of ancient texts and to some extent on mechanical logic. In Antiquity the word 'cross' had also denoted 'stake'. Furthermore, both crosses and stakes were methods of suspending people in the air.[67] The terminological ambiguity with regard to the stake on which Gerards underwent his execution was thus elaborated and resolved in Gallonio's scholarly exposition.

Incidentally, Gallonio's copy of the account of Gerards' death, unlike other known versions, mentions that he was also tied to the *equuleus*.[68] Moreover, even if Bozio does not use the word *equuleus* in his description of Gerards' tortures in *De signis ecclesiae Dei*, he does add a brief description of the mechanism, which corresponds with the Oratorians' reconstruction of the apparatus. Gerards had been, according to Bozio, tied by his hands and feet, and stretched over pulleys in various positions, so that

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65 Bozio, *De signis ecclesiae Dei*, I, 841–844.

66 See the versions cited above, in note 63.

67 Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio*, 1; idem, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, 1.

68 'tortus horribiliter in eculeo suspensus', BibVal Ms. H.6 f. 157vo.

his bones broke loose from each other.[69] Here we see the topicality of the long-winded antiquarian and technical discussions on the mechanism implied by the ancient term *equuleus*. They served to cast a recent event such as the torture and execution of Balthasar Gerards in the mould of martyrological mechanics. Gallonio's treatise of martyrdom was not only intended to reconstruct the significance of historical texts, but also to articulate contemporary experiences.

5.3 *Illustration*

Vital to the impact made by Gallonio's treatises of martyrdom are the engravings that accompany the texts. Illustrations and decorative schemes in the Italian edition of the treatise of martyrdom were like aristocratic emblems, *imprese* that were also to be found on the walls of Baronio's churches. The illustrations can be compared with the weaponry and machinery depicted in the works of Lipsius, Ramelli and Besson. However, this comparison also immediately reveals the limitations of Gallonio's sacred pendant of this secular sphere of activity. The screw threads in the treatise of martyrdom are not functional, the handles are not in line with one another, and the proportions are incorrect. In the Latin edition the priest abandoned some of the pretence of the illustrations of the vernacular version. Gallonio suggested a sacred alternative to mechanical engineering, but he did not himself really try to gain any in-depth knowledge of this discipline.

Martyrological Emblematics

The illustrations were an important part of Gallonio's treatise of martyrdom. They were designed by Giovanni Guerra (1544–1618), an artist from Modena and brother of the warden of the Oratory who had injured his head (see § 4.3). On the basis of Guerra's designs, Antonio Tempesta (1555–1630) chiseled the copperplate engravings for the Italian edition, as well as the engravings in the *Historia delle sante vergini romane*. In the Latin edition, woodcuts, also Guerra's design, were made by Leonardo and Girolama Parasole.[70] The author and the artists optimally integrated image and text

[69] 'Inde manibus pedibusque ligatis ad trochleas in varias partes est protractus, ita ut omnes artuum compages, omnes iuncturae dissolverentur ac laxarentur, idque multas horas paulatim fiebat', Bozio, *De signis ecclesiae Dei*, I, 841.

[70] M. Pupillo, 'Antonio Tempesta (Firenze 1555–Roma 1630) da Giovanni Guerra 69. Trofeo con strumenti di martirio' and idem, 'Antonio Tempesta (Firenze 1555–Roma 1630)

in the treatise of martyrdom. It was not always like that. In, for example, the *Iconologia* by Cesare Ripa (1560–1625ca.), an early modern standard work for the graphic design of allegories, many of the engravings of the 1603 edition, also from the hand of Giovanni Guerra, do not correspond at all to Ripa's descriptions. There is no systematic relationship between text and illustrations.[71] Conversely, Gallonio himself supervised the production of the visual material and ensured that the illustrations and the text of the treatises of martyrdom corresponded closely. In his letter to Talpa of 1591 (see § 2.1) he briefly commented on the engravings that were to illustrate his treatise. He had planned forty engravings; twenty-three of them had already been completed, and he had personally ascertained that they satisfied all who saw them.[72] In both versions of the treatise of martyrdom the index refers in many instances both to the text and to the corresponding image. As a result, more than being merely visual reminders of points discussed, the illustrations make the text complete.[73]

The maintenance and promotion of the cults of the saints required images as much as texts.[74] The Oratorians were actively engaged in enhancing the efficacy of sacred imagery. We have seen that after Cesare Baronio became a cardinal in 1597, he drew up new, far-reaching, uniform programs for images for a number of churches in Rome: his titular church of Santi Nereo ed Achilleo, the church of Santi Cesareo ed Ippolito on the Via Appia, and the church and oratories of San Gregorio al Celio.[75] Later, after Gallonio's death, Tommaso and Francesco Bozio

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da Giovanni Guerra 70. Le Ss. martiri Pudenziana e Prassede' in: *La regola e la fama*, 513–514 and 514–515.

[71] Stefano Pierguidi, 'Giovanni Guerra and the illustrations to Ripa's *Iconologia*', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 61 (1998) 158–175 (162–175).

[72] 'le loro figure in rame, che saranno quaranta di numero per lo meno, et al presente ne ho in ordine ventitré, le quali danno, per la gratia del Signore, grandissima divotione e soddisfattione ad ognuno che le vede.' Letter from Gallonio to Talpa, quoted in Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, I, 730 n. 17.

[73] Cfr. Philippe Codognet, 'Ancient images and new technologies: the semiotics of the web', *Leonardo* 35 (2002) 41–49 (43–44); Leslie Korrick, 'On the meaning of style: Nicolò Circignani in Counter-Reformation Rome', *Word & Image* 15 (1999) 170–189 (172–177).

[74] Anna Benvenuti e.a., *Storia della santità nel cristianesimo occidentale* (Rome: Viella, 2005) 273–276; cfr. Ruth S. Noyes, 'On the Fringes of Center: Disputed Hagiographic Imagery and the Crisis over the *Beati Moderni* in Rome ca. 1600', *Renaissance Quarterly* 64 (2011) 800–846.

[75] Alexandra Herz, 'Cardinal Cesare Baronio's restoration of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo and S. Cesareo de Appia', *Art Bulletin* 70 (1988) 590–620; Maryvelma Smith O'Neil, 'The patronage of Baronio at San Gregorio Magno' in: Romeo De Maio e.a. eds., *Baronio e l'arte: atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Sora 10–13 ottobre 1984* (Sora: Centro di studi sorani, 1985) 145–171; Zuccari, 'La politica culturale dell'Oratorio romano nelle imprese artistiche', *Storia dell'Arte* 41 (1981) 171–193.

designed the complex cycle of frescoes for the Cappella Paolina, commissioned by Pope Paul V in the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, while Giovanni Battista Crescenzi contributed to the altar.[76] Similarities in theme and detail between the *Annales ecclesiastici* by Baronio and the frescoes on the arched ceiling of the *Galleria delle carte geografiche* by Egnazio Danti (1536–1586), carried out during the papacy of Gregory XIII, give rise to the conjecture that the Oratorian may have played a part in the choice of subject for these historical scenes.[77] This is similar to the case of Carlo Sigonio who provided historical advice to Scipione Pulzone (1546–1598) in executing a painting of the *Assumption of Mary* in the San Silvestro al Quirinale, and again to Ludovico Carracci (1555–1619) for a painting with the same theme, of 1586 or 1587. In both instances this was at the request of Silvio Antoniano and Gabriele Paleotti, to satisfy the requirements set by the prelates.[78] The Oratorian Pietro Perrachione, previously supervisor of the construction and furnishing of the Chiesa Nuova, was responsible in 1604 for the realization of a number of paintings that Giovanni Guerra was to paint for the *Sala di Costantino* in the Vatican.[79] In short, Oratorians contributed to promoting the image of Rome as the center of Christianity in visual culture as much as in textual scholarship.

Gallonio must have gained a strong impression of the power of the image from Neri. On several occasions, visitors to the Chiesa Nuova had

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[76] Steven F. Ostrow, *Art and Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome: the Sistine and Pauline Chapels in S. Maria Maggiore* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 143–144, 186–190.

[77] Lucio Gambi and Antonio Pinelli, 'La Galleria delle carte geografiche' in: idem eds., *La Galleria delle carte geografiche in Vaticano* (Modena: F.C. Panini, 1994) I, 11–18 (13); Margret Schütte, *Die Galleria delle Carte Geografiche im Vatikan: eine ikonologische Betrachtung des Gewölbeprogramms* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1993) 76–77.

[78] For Sigonio and Pulzone: Stefania Macioce, *Undique splendent. Aspetti della pittura sacra nella Roma di Clemente VIII Aldobrandini (1592–1605)* (Rome: De Luca, 1990) 75; Miquel Batllori e.a., 'La regolata iconografia della Controrifroma nella Roma del Cinquecento', *Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma* 2 (1978) 11–50 (20); for Sigonio and Carracci: Alessandro Brogi, *Ludovico Carracci (1555–1619)* (Bologna: Edizioni Tipoarte, 2001) I, 124–126.

[79] Giovanni Guerra commits himself to 'fare pittura idonea et recipiente in opera di dodici quadri ad olio continenti ognuno l'immagine di diverse provincie osservate per ordine della discente nella volta della Sala di Costantino nel Vaticano del le quali siino in sodisfatione del ill. R.P. Pietro Parocchioni le quali quando tali non siino restino a mio danno in mia mano et si distingue che il precio di ogni uno dei detti quadri sii in scuti dieci l'uno [...] in fede d. s. et vero ho fatta la di mia mano propria. Io Giovanni Guerra scrissi', ASR, Cong. Oratorio Roma Vol. 145 f. 154ro. As supervisor of the works at the Chiesa Nuova, Perrachione had been responsible for several chapels, among others those along the right-hand side aisle after this had been deepened in the 1590s. Costanza Barbieri, Sofia Barchiesi and Daniele Ferrara, *Santa Maria in Vallicella. Chiesa Nuova* (Rome: Fratelli Palombi, 1995) 71–72, 122 n. 527, 128; Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, II, 870.

seen the Florentine going into ecstasies, often in the chapel of the Visitation. The painting by Federico Barocci (1528–1612) that portrays the meeting between Mary and Elizabeth, both of them pregnant, was a favorite image to which Neri turned in prayer and meditation. It is said that in more than one instance he had become overwhelmed with emotion at the sight of it. Whatever the physiological, emotional or perhaps theatrical motivation was for such ecstasies, Neri would immediately call his favorite follower Gallonio to his side, if the latter was not already present in the chapel.[80] Neri made Gallonio fully aware of the emotions that sacred art was capable of awakening.

The composition of the martyrological illustrations in Gallonio's works followed a development in polemical and meditative media in Jesuit circles. The engravings resonate with the illustrations of printed publications and fresco cycles in churches, which appeared from the beginning of the 1580s onward: the frescoes in de Santo Stefano Rotondo, the San Tommaso di Canterbury and the Sant'Apollinare, and the engravings in publications such as *Ecclesiae Militantis Triumphi, Anglicanae trophaea* and *Theatrum crudelitatum*. Trainee missionaries, encircled by images of martyrdoms, underwent a visual confrontation with the most extreme consequences that their dedication to the conversion of pagans could have. In addition, the images provided them with material for preaching and pastoral work.[81]

In the past, a dichotomy between Jesuits and Oratorians has been hypothesized according to which Jesuits tended to prefer an ahistorical composition in artistic commissions, while the Oratorians preferred images that were set against a background that was historically and spatially determinate. Accordingly, frescoes and engravings produced in a Jesuit context had as their backgrounds interchangeable landscapes and architecture, while the Oratorians had the subject matter of their images surrounded

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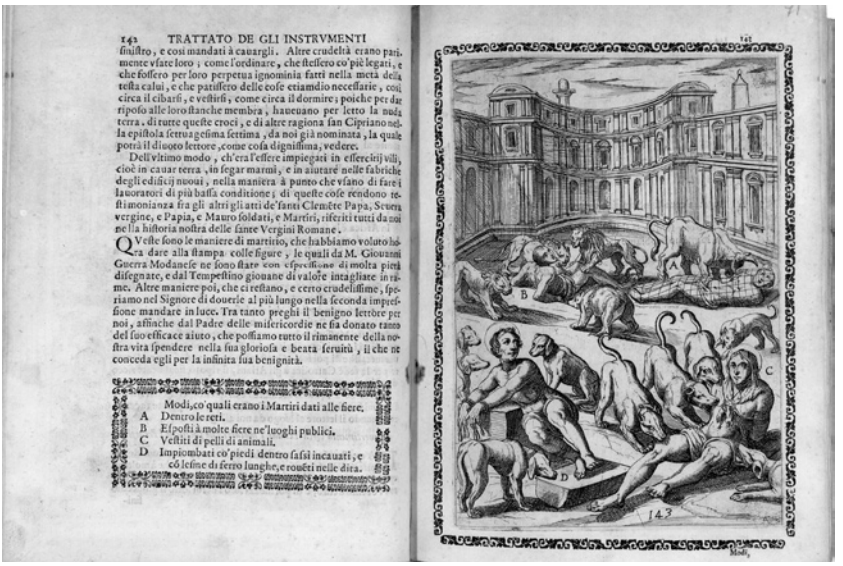
[80] Ian Verstegen, 'Federico Barocci, Federico Borromeo, and the Oratorian orbit', *Renaissance Quarterly* 56 (2003) 56–87 (65); Barbieri, Barchiesi and Ferrara, *Santa Maria in Vallicella*, 67–68; Giovanni Incisa della Rocchetta and Nello Vian eds., *Il primo processo per San Filippo Neri nel Codice Vaticano Latino* 3798 *e in altri esemplari dell'archivio dell'Oratorio di Roma* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1957–1963) I, 273 [M. Vitelleschi], 340 [A. Cheli].

[81] Gauvin A. Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque: Jesuit Art in Rome, 1565–1610* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003) 107–152; Thomas Buser, 'Jerome Nadal and early Jesuit art in Rome', *Art Bulletin* 58 (1976) 424–433 (425–432). Cfr. Alexandra Herz, 'Imitators of Christ: the martyr-cycles of late Sixteenth Century Rome seen in context', *Storia dell'arte* 62 (1988) 53–70, in which the author contends that the fresco cycles were part of an attempt by the Jesuits to restore what they saw as early Christian aesthetics.


142 TRATTATO DE GLI INSTRVMENTI

sinistro, e così mandati à cauargli. Altre crudeltà erano parimente vsate loro; come l'ordinare, che stessero co' piè legati, e che fossero per loro perpetua ignominia fatti nella metà della testa calui, e che patissero delle cose etiamdio necessarie, così circa il cibarsi, e vestirsi, come circa il dormire; poiche per darripoſo alle loro stanche membra, haueuano per letto la nuda terra. di tutte queste crocì, e di altre ragiona san Cipriano nella epistola settuagesima settima, da noi già nominata, la quale potrà il diuoto lettore, come cosa dignissima, vedere.

Dell'vltimo modo, ch'era l'essere impiegati in essercitij vili, cioè in cauar terra, in segar marmi, e in aiutare nelle fabriche degli edificij nuoui, nella maniera à punto che vsano di fare i lauoratori di più bassa conditione; di queste cose rendono testimonianza fra gli altri gli atti de' santi Clemẽte Papa, Seuera vergine, e Papia, e Mauro soldati, e Martiri, riferiti tutti da noi nella historia nostra delle sante Vergini Romane.

Queste sono le maniere di martirio, che habbiamo voluto hora dare alla stampa colle figure, le quali da M. Giouanni Guerra Modanese ne sono state con vsposizione di molta pietà disegnate, e dal Tempestino giouane di valore intagliate in rame. Altre maniere poi, che ci restano, e certo crudelissime, speriamo nel Signore di douerle al più lungo nella seconda impressione mandare in luce. Tra tanto preghi il benigno lettore per noi, affinche dal Padre delle misericordie ne sia donato tanto del suo efficace aiuto, che possiamo tutto il rimanente della nostra vita spendere nella sua gloriosa e beata seruitù, il che ne conceda egli per la infinita sua benignità.

Modi, co' quali erano i Martiri dati alle fiere.

A Dentro le reti.
B Espoſti à molte fiere ne' luoghi publici.
C Vestiti di pelli di animali.
D Impiombati co' piedi dentro sassi incauati, e cõ lesine di ferro lunghe, e rouẽti nelle dita.

143

Fig. 5d. Giovanni Guerra and Antonio Tempesta, *Martyrs exposed to wild animals*, engraving from: Antonio Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio* (Rome: A. and G. Donangeli, 1591) 143.

with all manner of specific historical and geographical trappings.[82] However, this distinction is not confirmed in the illustrations in Gallonio's treatises of martyrdom. While the Oratorians, including Gallonio, indeed worked more with historical material than with philosophical-theological abstractions, the illustrations in the treatise of martyrdom are certainly not set in a recognizable period or region. Just like the paintings and engravings of the Jesuits, the illustrations in the works of Gallonio have ahistorical compositions. The backgrounds consist of interchangeable landscapes and generic, classical, unrecognizable architecture. The architectural elements are repeated in several illustrations and are to some extent imitations of the images on the walls of the Santo Stefano Rotondo and in the pages of the *Ecclesiae Militantis Triumphi* as well (Figs. 5d, 5e).

[82] Antonio Vannugli, 'Gli affreschi di Antonio Tempesta a S. Stefano Rotondo e l'emblematica nella cultura del Martirio presso la Compagnia di Gesù', *Storia dell'Arte* 48 (1983) 101–116 (115); Alessandro Zuccari, 'Politica culturale dell'Oratorio romano nella

Fig. 5e. Niccolò Circignani e.a., *Processus, Martinianus and Gervasius*, fresco, Santo Stefano Rotondo (photo courtesy of Carolin Behrman).

Like the martyrological images in the churches and publications of the Jesuits, the illustrations in Gallonio's treatise of martyrdom function as emblems alluding to heraldry, as discussed at the start of this chapter: the 'honored

seconda metà del Cinquecento', *Storia dell'Arte* 41 (1981) 81–112 (85–86); Federico Zeri, *Pittura e controriforma: l'arte senza tempo di Scipione di Gaeta* (Turin: Einaudi, 1957).

imprese of Christ's glorious warriors'.[83] In an equivocality that was surely intentional, *impresa* also had a more general, pedagogical significance; the combination of logo and motto pleased the social and intellectual elite and they used them to impress each other. Image and text were mutually dependent. This is corroborated by the emergence of theoretical literature that reflected on their composition and usage. According to this literature, emblems distinguished themselves from pure images because, while images could create only visual likenesses, emblems conveyed complex meaning. The textual explanation that accompanied emblems spelled out their significance. Conversely, the image at the center of an emblem allowed one to discern something at a glance which would otherwise have required many words.[84] Because of the analogy with heraldry, in the course of the sixteenth century the use of emblems burgeoned among Jesuits as a means of appealing to a public of noble birth.[85]

A well-thought-out emblem was an efficient means of communication, and Gallonio availed himself of its efficacy in both the Italian edition of his treatise of martyrdom and in the *Historia delle sante vergini romane*. The illustrations and the accompanying brief verbal explanations in these two publications impress upon the reader the martyrdom that the Christians underwent. The methods and instruments with which this martyrdom was achieved were recognizable at a glance. The integration of text and image is present everywhere in Gallonio's oeuvre. The instruments and methods of torture that Gallonio described and had portrayed in the treatise of martyrdom recur in simple illustrations in the *Historia delle sante vergini romane*. For example, in the *historia* of Saint Restituta, the 'scorpion' appears. Gallonio had the wooden rod with thorns or knots illustrated in the treatise of martyrdom. The same type of scourge is also wielded by the executioner of Restituta in the engraving at the beginning of her *historia* (Figs. 5f, 5g).

The emblematic portrayals by the Jesuits and in Gallonio's treatises of martyrdom are characterized by the addition of explanatory texts, which

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[83] Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio*, 1.

[84] Caldwell, 'The *Paragone* between word and image', 277–286.

[85] Anne-Élisabeth Spica, 'Les Jésuites et l'emblématique', *XVII^e Siècle* 59 (2007) 633–652; Samuele Giombi, *Libri e pulpiti. Letteratura, sapienza e storia religiosa nel Rinascimento* (Rome: Carocci, 2001) 223–227; Macioce, *Undique Splendent*, 49–60; Andrea Battistini, 'I manuali di retorica dei gesuiti' in: Gian Paolo Brizzi ed., *La ratio studiorum: modelli culturali e pratiche educative dei Gesuiti in Italia tra Cinque e Seicento* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1981) 77–120 (104), where the author places emblematics in the framework of the pedagogics of the Jesuits.

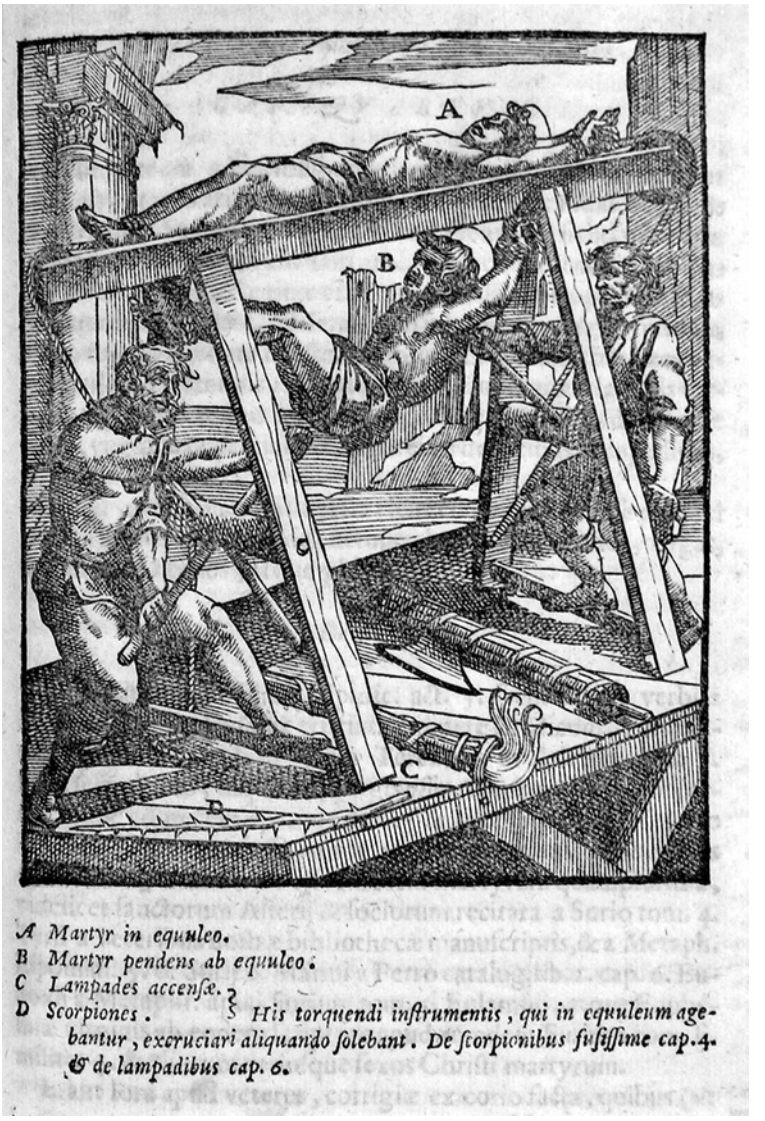
A
B
C
D
A Martyr in equuleo.
B Martyr pendens ab equuleo.
C Lampades accenſæ.
D Scorpiones.
His torquendi inſtrumentis, qui in equuleum agebantur, excruciari aliquando ſolebant. De ſcorpionibus fuſiſſime cap. 4. & de lampadibus cap. 6.

Fig. 5f. Giovanni Guerra, Leonardo Parasole and Girolama Parasole, *Equuleus*, engraving from: Antonio Gallonio, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus* (Rome, Oratorian Typography, 1594) 95, with *Scorpio*.

HISTORIA
DI SANTA RESTITVTA
VERGINE, E MARTIRE
ROMANA, AVVOCATA DI SORA.

Si celebra la festiuità di questa Santa a' 27 di Maggio.

ESSENDO Aureliano Imperatore, fiorì in Roma vna Verginella Christiana, di molta nobiltà, e di grandissima santità, il cui nome era Restituta, & habitaua nella Region di Trestenere; il suo padre si chiamaua Etel, e la madre Datria: hora venuta ella all'età di potersi maritare, era da molti giouani nobili ricercata (mercè delle sue bellezze) per moglie. Faceuano costoro ricapito al padre, & alla madre di lei, non cessando importunargli sopra di questo fatto; onde eglino vinti da tanti preghi, se ne andarono à parlare; con Restituta, per intendere di qual animo fosse, & le dissero: Non mancano, ò figliuola, giouani, e nobili, e ricchi, che desiderano le tue nozze: però à te stà di eleggere qual di loro vuoi. Io rispose la Santa, ho vno sposo, che è immortale, e celeste, per questo di lui grandemente compiacendomi, nõ curo, nè voglio ad altri sottoposti alla corruttione, & alla morte accostarmi: vadino questi tali, e cerchino di altre,

F 3 per-

Fig. 5g. Giovanni Guerra and Antonio Tempesta, *Saint Restituta,* engraving from: Antonio Gallonio, *Historia delle sante vergini romane* (Rome: A. and G. Donangeli, 1591) 85 , with *Scorpio*.

refer to individual elements in the image by means of letters or numbers.[86] In these pictures, successive occurrences in a chronological account can appear next to one another within the same frame. The illustrations are frozen halfway between historical specificity and general abstraction.

This type of composition is comparable with the illustrations in publications by Justus Lipsius. His *De cruce libri tres* was an antiquarian study into the ancient execution method of crucifixion. It is illustrated, much like Gallonio's first chapter about crucifixion in the treatise of martyrdom. Both the text and the illustrations of this work concentrate on the technical factualities, ignoring the devotional aspects of crucifixion. The various forms of crucifixion are not reproduced as separate events, such as, for example, in the apologetical works about the cross by the Jesuit Jacob Gretser (1562–1625) and by Giacomo Bosio (1544–1627), Knight of St John. The different methods of crucifixion are portrayed by Gallonio and Lipsius as infinitely repeatable categories. Just like in the case of Gallonio, in Lipsius' work the background of the illustration suggests a specific occurrence, but is in fact a generic landscape that is completely interchangeable and has no relation to the figures in the foreground (Fig. 5h).[87]

The partial transition from unique occurrence to general category is also characteristic of the technical illustrations in Lipsius' book about military machinery. Lipsius dealt with different categories of siege machines and siege strategies in fictitious dialogues. The engravings follow the individual dialogues, and bring the most important conclusions and variants together in one or more engraving. For instance, following the chapter about the *testudines*, siege machines with protective roofs enabling besiegers to reach the walls of their opponent unharmed, are illustrations of the different types discussed: the 'simple testudo' (*testudo simplex*), the 'testudo with beakhead' (*testudo rostrata*) and the 'testudo with battering ram' (*testudo arietaria*). They are represented in a single engraving, with a legend that identifies them. The composition suggests faintly that the three variants are drawn up together in line, but the representations of the individual machines in perspective are unconnected (Fig. 5i).[88] Again, the graphic reproduction of the machines discussed

[86] This type of legend was called 'indexed split view' by Codognet, 'Ancient images and new technologies', 43–44.

[87] Jeanine de Landtsheer, 'Justus Lipsius' *De cruce* and the reception of the Fathers', *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch* 2 (2000) 97–122 (100, 116–120); Christian Hecht, *Katholische Bildertheologie im Zeitalter von Gegenreformation und Barock: Studien zu Traktaten von Johannes Molanus, Gabriele Paleotti und anderen Autoren* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1997) 387.

[88] Lipsius, *Poliorceticon*, 48–50.

Fig. 5h. Pieter van der Borcht (attributed to), *Crosses,* engraving from: Justus Lipsius, *De cruce libri tres* (Antwerp: Plantijn, 1594) 74.

ends up halfway between the unique narrative and the general classification. The structure of the processing of the information is thus to a great extent comparable with that of Gallonio's martyrological treatise.

The illustrations supported the classification of reconstructed tortures in individual categories, but at the same time the illustrations were useful in emphasizing that the entire spectrum of instruments of torture was one integral whole. For the text of the martyrological treatises, Gallonio disassembled the chronological narratives of his hagiographical sources. In the illustrations the elements were again placed together. The sixth chapter, for example, deals with instruments of torture that burned and glowed. Torturers often used these after they had hung the victim on the *equuleus*. The *equuleus* therefore returns in the background of the engravings accompanying this chapter, as stressed by the legend: 'A. Martyrs, who are removed from the *equuleus* and then tortured using other new

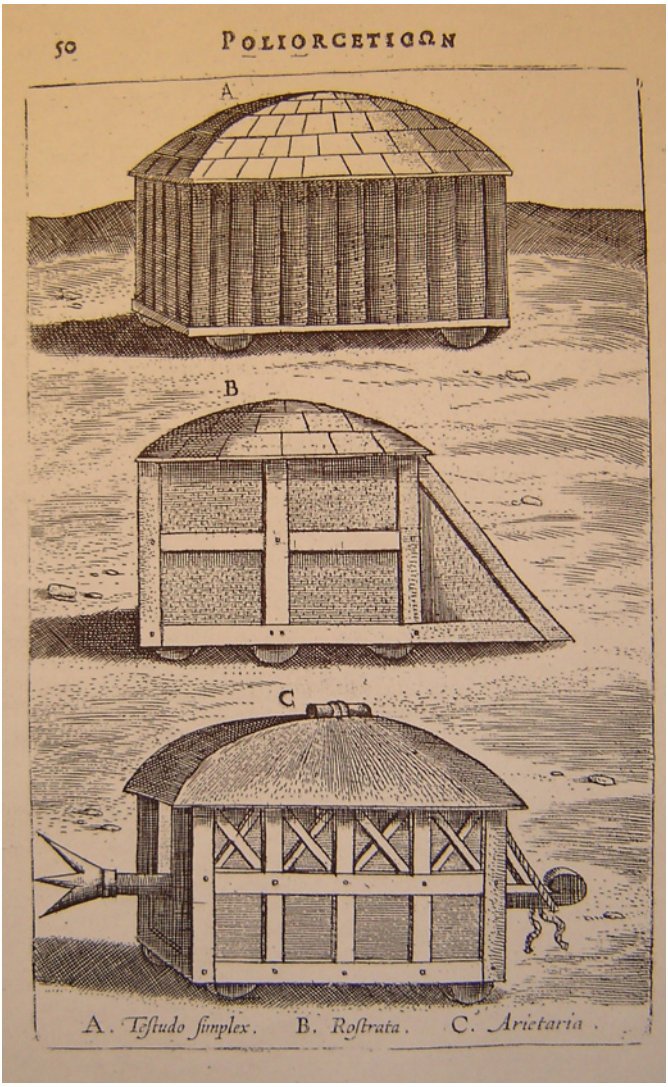

Fig. 5i. Pieter van der Borcht (attributed to), *Testudines*, engraving from: Justus Lipsius, *Poliorceticon sive de machinis. Tormentis. Telis. Libri quinque. Ad historiarum lucem* (in: *Opera omnia*) (Antwerp: Plantijn, 1625) 50.

methods, by B. either being pressed into shards, C. or by having boiling oil, or lime, or the like, poured into the wounds caused by the torture of the *equuleus*' (Fig. 5j).[89] Despite the division into categories, the successive tortures continue to be part of a complete, definitive arsenal of methods of torture.

Fig. 5j. Giovanni Guerra and Antonio Tempesta, *Instruments of torture with equuleus in the background*, engraving from: Antonio Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio* (Rome: A. and G. Donangeli, 1591) 79.

[89] 'A. Martiri, tolti via dall'equuleo, e con altre nove maniere tormentati, imperoche erano essi B. ò premuti sopra rottami, C. ò si versava nelle piaghe, cagionate loro da i

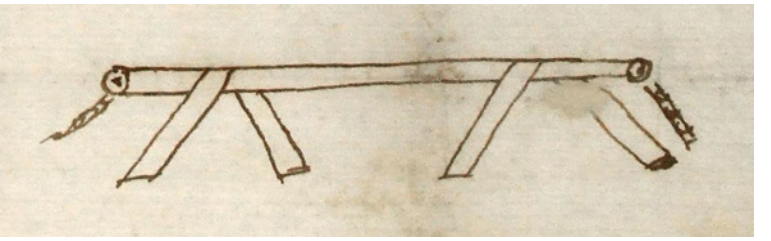

Fig. 5k. Antonio Gallonio(?), *Equuleus*, drawing, BibVal Ms. N.76.

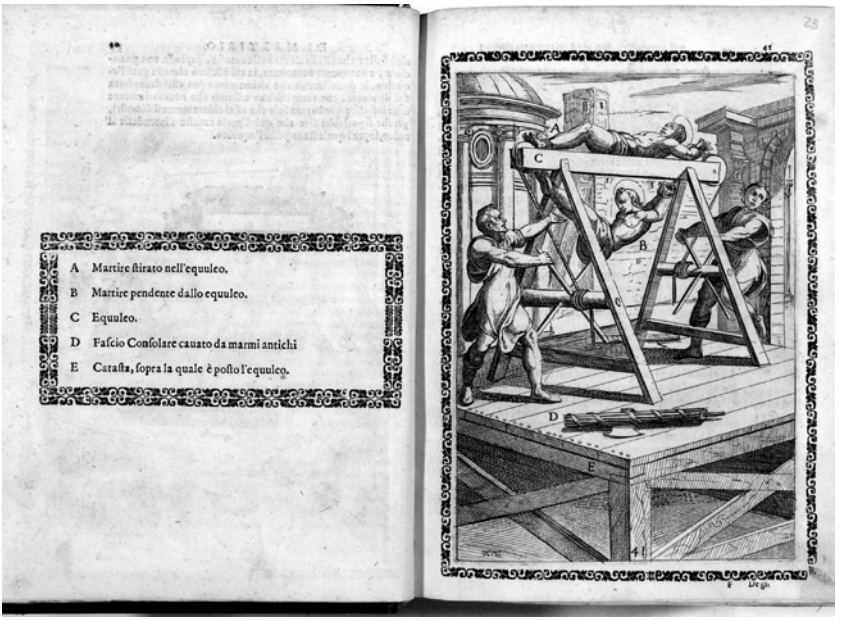

Fig. 5l. Giovanni Guerra and Antonio Tempesta, *Equuleus*, engraving from: Antonio Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio* (Rome: A. and G. Donangeli, 1591) 45.

Martyrological Mechanics

Illustrations were aids for imagination and memory, but they also served in argumentations. The technology of ancient weapons was under discussion, and the participants in the debates put both word and image to use in order to elucidate their standpoints. Reportedly the philologist Joseph

tormenti dell'equuleo, olio bollente, ò calcina, ò simili.' Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio*, 78–79.

Justus Scaliger (1540–1609) drew sketches of the Roman *pilum* even on his deathbed, so as to show that Justus Lipsius was mistaken.[90] Illustrations began to become an integral part of expositions on the working of devices.

In the treatises of martyrdom too, graphic representation did not only have a didactic function. The visualization of the *equuleus* clearly emphasized those elements which Gallonio and Bozio felt they understood better than Sigonio, the illustration thus gaining the power of an argument. The simplest graphic representation of the concept of the *equuleus* appears in a handwritten Italian description of the instrument among Bozio's papers—most probably written by Gallonio. This simple pen and ink drawing shows a horizontal crossbeam on four inclined legs, with at each end a round wheel over which a rope is hanging (Fig. 5k).[91] These were precisely the elements that had been contentious. Guerra and Tempesta added several details to the engravings of the *equuleus* in the treatise of martyrdom, which Gallonio dwelt upon in his text as points of discussion. The apparatus is positioned on a gallows, which is a reference to the *catasta*, a platform with which, according to Gallonio, Sigonio confused the *equuleus*. In the Italian edition, the victims are depicted in two positions on the *equuleus*: one is stretched out on the crossbeam, the other is hanging, with body bent, under it. With a supreme effort the torturers are turning the windlass by means of large handles. The engravings accompanying the passages about the *equuleus* can thus be read as a summary of the principal points of disagreement (Fig. 5l).[92]

As compared to Sigonio, who included not a single illustration in his works, Girolamo Maggi had wanted to illustrate his discussion of the *equuleus* as well. There are asterisks at several points that the publisher placed where, based on Maggi's references, an illustration should have been positioned.[93] It would have been interesting to see how Maggi's illustrations of the *equuleus* would have accorded with those of Gallonio,

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[90] Anthony Grafton, *Bring out Your Dead. The Past as Revelation* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001) 235–236.

[91] BibVal Ms. N.76 f. 210ro. For this handwritten description of the *equuleus*, and its tentative attribution to Gallonio, see Jetze Touber, 'The equuleus of the Oratorian Antonio Gallonio (1556–1605): from martyrological invention to object of antiquarian studies', *Studi Romani* 57 (2009 [i.e. 2012]) 197–229.

[92] Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio*, 40–41; idem, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, 95.

[93] '*Equuleos* autem equinos pullos nuncupari, nemini est obscurum, & qui infrà à nobis huius instrumenti * delineatam formam intuebitur, nobis haud aegrè assentietur.' In the margin: '* Non extat'; at the end: 'Pictura in manuscripto non extabat.' Gallonio, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, ed. Trichet du Fresne, 273, 285.

in view of the similarities in their argumentations. Maggi had furnished his *Della fortificatione delle città* with detailed maps and graphic representations of specific constructions in the defensive works of the cities discussed. Furthermore, his handwritten plans for the additions to the fortifications of Famagusta contain drawings that were intended to clarify his proposals. In these drawings Maggi used tried and tested conventions from technical drawing, such as cutaway and transparent bodies, and cross-sections. With the illustrations of the book about defensive works, he even contributed to the development of a new type of graphic projection: 'military axonometry' (Fig. 5m).[94]

Giovanni Guerra, who designed Gallonio's illustrations, was experienced in the depiction of machines and in the application of graphic conventions for the representation of technology. In 1589 and 1590, the years preceding the publication of the Italian edition of Gallonio's treatise, Guerra made engravings of the transport and erection of the obelisk that Pope Sixtus V had placed on the square in front of Saint Peter's, displaying his skill at depicting the mechanisms employed by the engineers. In one of these, for instance, he combined a side view of the wooden crane built for the erection of the obelisk, with an orthogonal projection of the same construction (Fig. 5n). Later, in 1604 in Pratolino, Tuscany, he drew hydraulic mechanisms that powered the fountains and cascades in the Villa Medicea, with transparent cross-sections exposing the underground mechanism of the fountains (Fig. 5o).[95]

The illustrations of the martyrological treatises were not as detailed or sophisticated. Nonetheless, in these illustrations Guerra also included elements that derived from technical visual conventions. An example of this is the pulley-wheel with a rope around it that could be wound around a windlass. We have seen that Gallonio refers to Vitruvius for his discussion of the pulley and for the illustration of this system Guerra seems to have

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[94] Filippo Camerota, 'Renaissance descriptive geometry: the codification of drawing methods' in: Wolfgang Lefèvre ed., *Picturing machines, 1400–1700* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2004) 175–208 (184–185); Hale, 'Girolamo Maggi', 37–38, 40–43.

[95] Ermolina Cecchi Gattolin, 'Giovanni Guerra 4.47.1 *Fontana del Quercione*' and idem, 'Giovanni Guerra 4.47.2 *Macchine idrauliche*' in: Claudia Beltramo Ceppi and Nicoletta Confuorto eds., *La corte, il mare, i mercanti. La rinascita della scienza. Editoria e società. Astrologia, magia e alchimia*, exhibition catalogue (Milan: Electa, 1980) 167; Elena Parma Armani ed., *Libri di immagini, disegni e incisioni di Giovanni Guerra (Modena 1544–Roma 1618): Modena, Palazzo dei Musei, Sala Poletti, 18 marzo–30 aprile 1978*, exhibition catalogue (Modena: Tipolito Cooptip, 1978) ills XXXVIIIb and LVI.

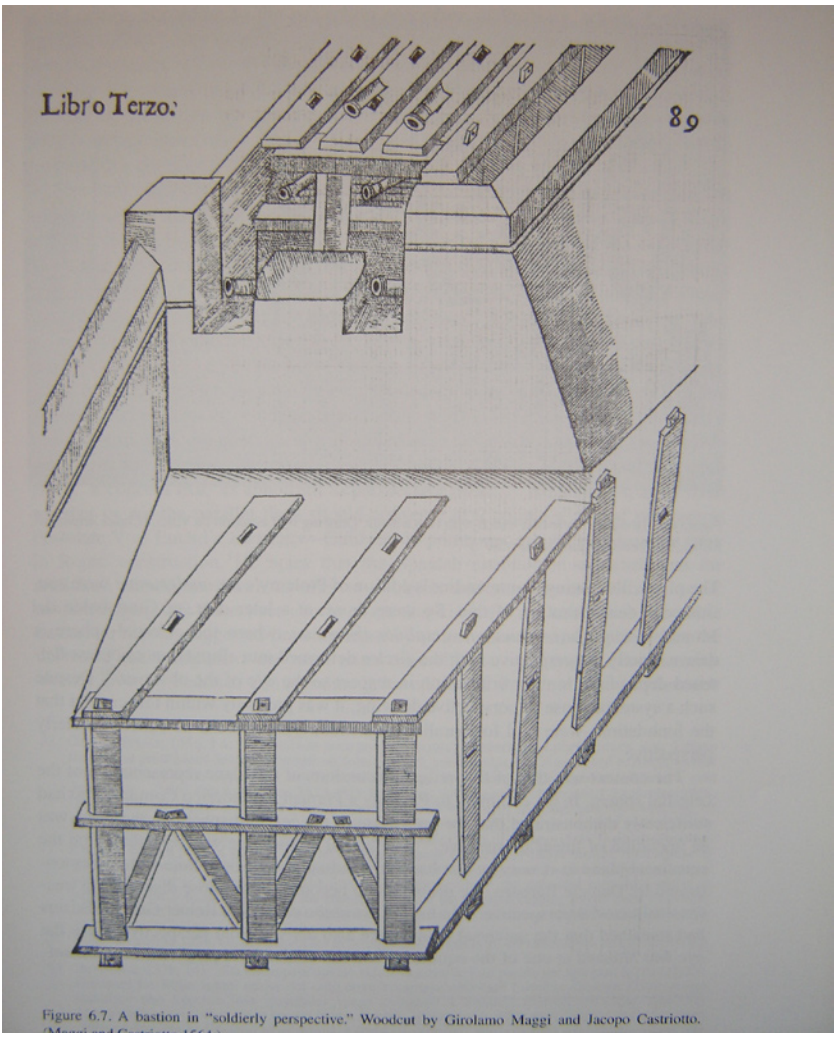

Figure 6.7. A bastion in "soldierly perspective." Woodcut by Girolamo Maggi and Jacopo Castriotto.

Fig. 5m. Girolamo Maggi, *Military axonometry*, engraving from idem, *Della fortificatione delle città* (Venice: R. Borgominiero, 1564), from: Wolfgang Lefèvre ed., *Picturing machines, 1400–1700* (Cambridge Mass.: MIT Press, 2004) 185.

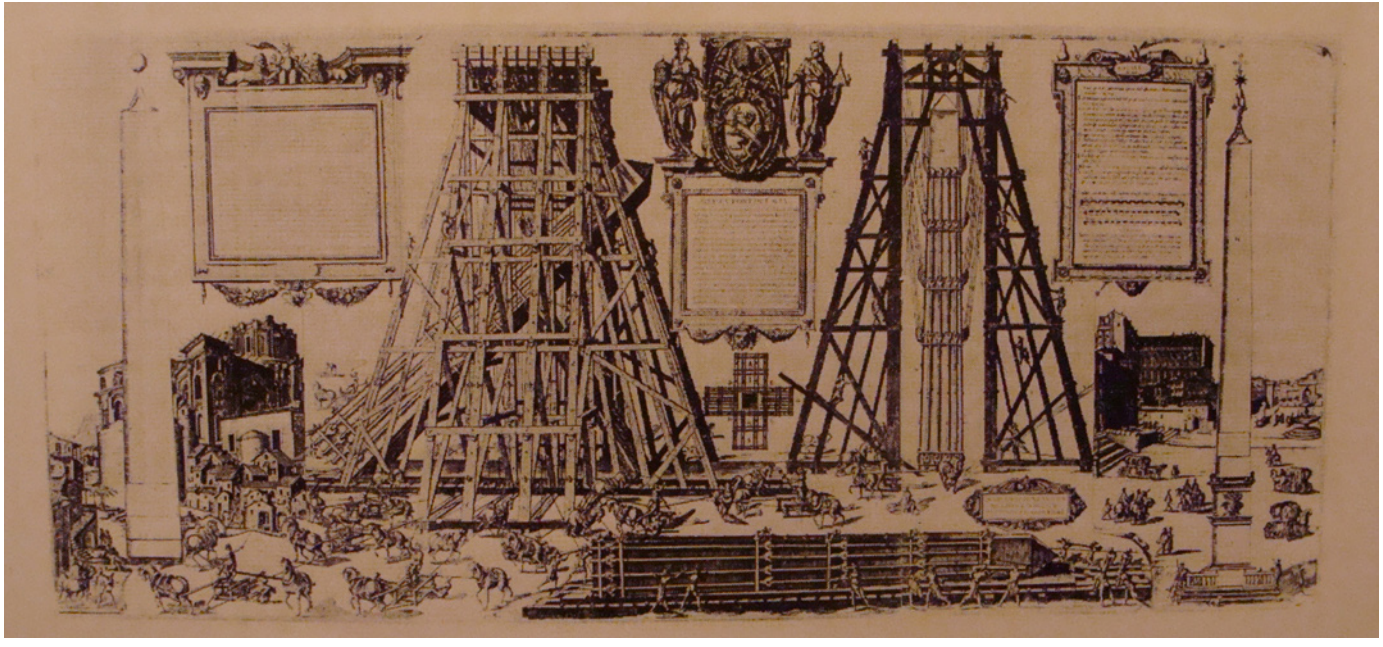

Fig. 5n. Giovanni Guerra, *Obelisk*, engraving from: *Della trasportatione dell'obelisco vaticano et delle fabriche di Nostro Signore Papa Sisto V* (Rome: D. Basa, 1590), from: Elena Parma Armani ed., *Libri di immagini, disegni e incisioni di Giovanni Guerra (Modena 1544–Roma 1618): Modena, Palazzo dei Musei, Sala Poletti, 18 marzo–30 aprile 1978,* exhibition catalogue (Modena: Tipolito Cooptip, 1978).

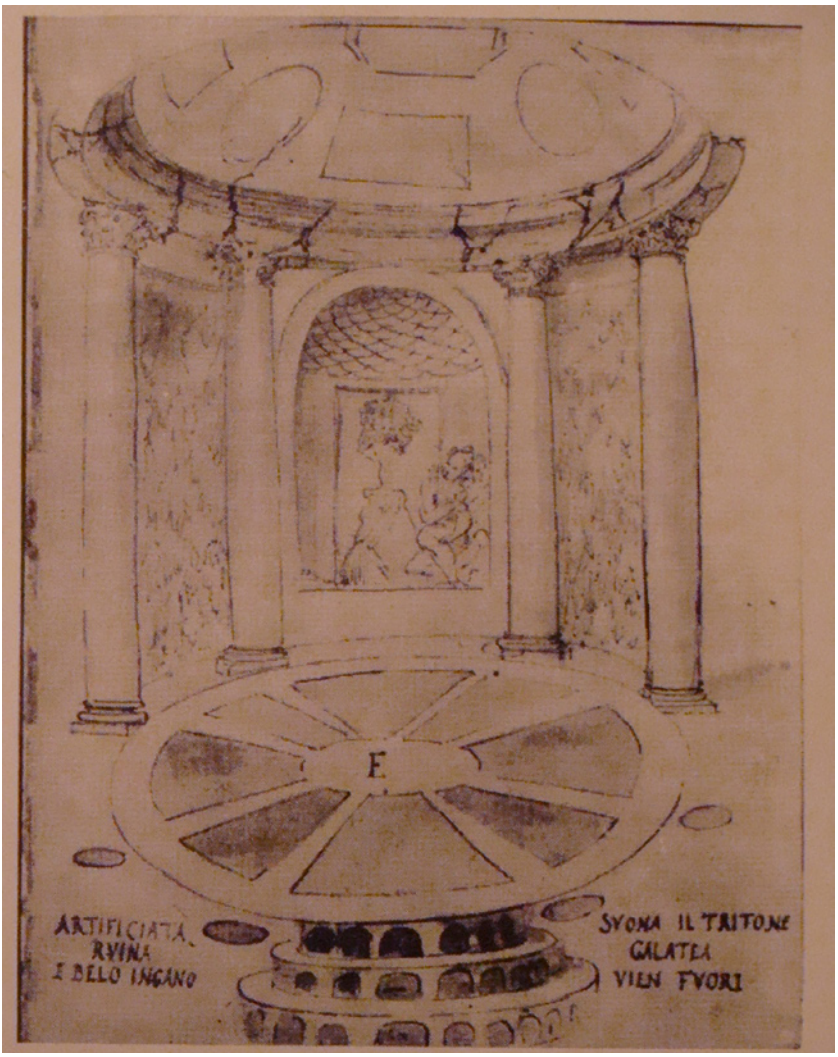

Fig. 50. Giovanni Guerra, *Fountain*, drawing from: Elena Parma Armani ed., *Libri di immagini, disegni e incisioni di Giovanni Guerra (Modena 1544–Roma 1618): Modena, Palazzo dei Musei, Sala Poletti, 18 marzo–30 aprile 1978,* exhibition catalogue (Modena: Tipolito Cooptip, 1978).

based his drawing on an illustration from the same edition of Vitruvius that Gallonio owned (Figs. 5b, 5c).

As mentioned earlier, Gallonio included more technical details in the text of the Latin edition of the treatise of martyrdom. He also discussed more subjects, and went into greater detail. In contrast, the number of

illustrations in the Latin edition is smaller, many of the original illustrations having seemingly been stacked together. Whereas in the Italian edition the engravings support the arguments, the classifications and the mechanical reconstructions elaborated in the text, this supportive function is limited in the engravings in the Latin edition.[96] The analogy with contemporary publications on engineering becomes less prominent in the passage from the Italian to the Latin edition.

The development in the engravings can be followed in the illustrations accompanying chapter six. In the Italian edition the various types of burning and searing implements are grouped together in a typical *panoplia*, with the types described being clearly recognizable. The following engraving shows the different situations in which these implements were employed. In the foreground two torturers are burning a person who is suspended by his ankles from a hoist. In the background a torturer is doing the same to a victim who is dangling from the *equuleus*. All the torturers are using the same type of equipment: a lamp.[97] In the Latin edition the first engraving depicting the *panoplia* has been left out. The chapter is accompanied by a single illustration based on the second engraving in the Italian edition. It has been adapted to combine the various types of burning and searing instruments. It shows only the hoist with the victim suspended upside down. Around him stand three torturers who are holding different implements. The first is a terracotta holder containing flammable material, the second a twisted flammable rope and the third a torch (Figs. 5p, 5q, 5r).[98]

That Gallonio settled for fewer and less detailed illustrations in the Latin version confirms that the impression of a martyrological machine theater, created by the Italian edition, was a rhetorical device rather than motivated by sincere interest in the mechanics of the torture instruments. As a matter of fact, even the more accomplished engravings in the Italian edition contain all manner of clumsy and incorrect details. The rope with which a female martyr is suspended from a tau cross has its end slung around a pulley for no reason. The handles with which the executioners are winding a windlass in order to stretch a martyr are not fitted properly into the windlass. Because of the position of the screws in the press the martyr within it would not lie straight but rather at an angle between the

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[96] Opher Mansour, 'Not Torments, but Delights: Antonio Gallonio's *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio* of 1591 and Its Illustrations' in: Andrew Hopkins and Maria Wyke eds., *Roman Bodies. Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century* (London: The British School at Rome, 2005) 167–183 (167, 171–180).

[97] Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio*, 76–77 and 78–79.

[98] Gallonio, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, 147.

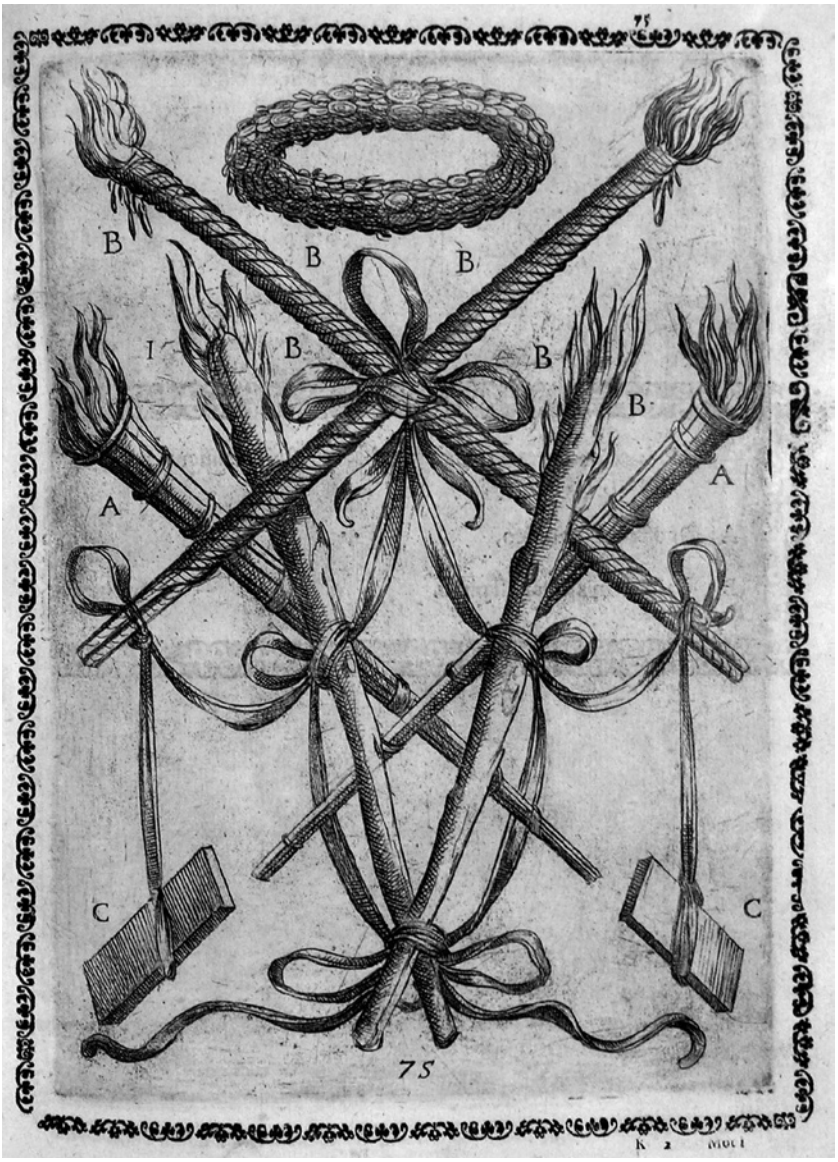

Fig. 5p. Giovanni Guerra and Antonio Tempesta, *Panoplia of instruments for burning and searing*, engraving from: Antonio Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio* (Rome: A. and G. Donangeli, 1591) 77.

Fig. 5q. Giovanni Guerra and Antonio Tempesta, *Instruments for burning and searing*, engraving from: Antonio Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio* (Rome: A. and G. Donangeli, 1591) 75.

Fig. 5r. Giovanni Guerra, Leonardo Parasole and Girolama Parasole, *Instruments for burning and searing*, engraving from: Antonio Gallonio, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus liber* (Rome, Oratory, 1594) 147.

pressure plates. The thick horizontal beam in the *equuleus* would prevent the victim from falling downwards when the ropes were slackened, contradicting the extensive discussion that Gallonio devotes to that effect.[99] In combination with all manner of distortions in perspective and proportions, these elements produce very unsatisfactory technical drawings.

This is, however, consistent with Gallonio's way of dealing with technology and machinery, as became evident in the first section of this chapter. The priest had no actual interest in leverage, balance or the transmission of forces. The illustrations and accompanying texts of the Italian edition formed a book of martyrological emblems, upon which his aristocratic readership was supposed to gaze in admiration, discarding the machine theaters of Besson, Errard and Ramelli. Gallonio suggested a sacred alternative to mechanics and mechanical engineering, and thus did not think it necessary to actually familiarize himself with these disciplines. That Gallonio did not require the representations of the apparatuses in the illustrations to correspond exactly with the mechanisms described is also apparent from the discrepancy between text and illustrations in relation to the *ungula*. Gallonio makes it clear in the description that only two burnt pieces remained of the wooden handles of the tongs in Saint Peter's.[100] In the accompanying illustration, however, the *ungula* is represented in its generally reconstructed form, complete with intact handles (Fig. 5s). In Antonio Bosio's *Roma sotterranea*, which Giovanni Severano (1546ca.–1640) published forty years later, the same *ungula* is portrayed in an engraving, this time as it actually appeared, in Saint Peter's, where it was stored, with charred stumps where the handles had been (Figs. 5t, 5u).

In the treatise of martyrdom, Gallonio thus created the impression of illustrating concrete instruments of torture, but in fact depicted objects that he had dreamed up. The tortures illustrated in the Italian edition, and the virgins, mostly martyrs, illustrated in the *Historia delle sante vergini romane*, complemented one another in this. In the critical Latin edition

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[99] Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio*, 10, 31, 41.

[100] 'ne'tronchi del manico erano tonde, e vicino quasi al fine incavate; e per quanto dimostra un poco di legno abbruciato similmente tondo, che vi si vede incastrato dentro, s'incavavano così, per fermarvi due haste,' ibid., 62. In the subsequent Latin edition Gallonio dropped the observation that only stumps were left of the wooden handles. This ties in with the greater emphasis in this edition on a textual, mechanically correct reconstruction of the ancient object, at the expense of the perceptible, visual or sensual experience of its remains: 'quorum extremae partes rotundae erant, & prope earundem finem paululum excavatae; quod idcirco fiebat, ut hastulae aliquae in ipsis includi atque affigi possent,' idem, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, 130.

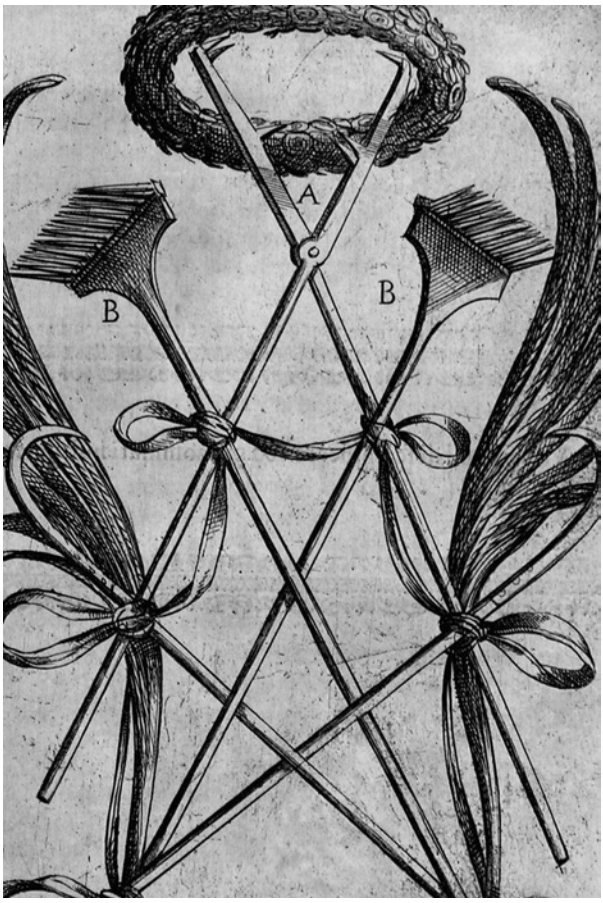

Fig. 5s. Giovanni Guerra and Antonio Tempesta, *Ungula*, detail from engraving from: Antonio Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio* (Rome: A. and G. Donangeli, 1591) 67.

of the treatise of martyrdom that followed three years later, the illustrations shifted into the background. In this edition the critical edge of the antiquarian text gained the upper hand over the imaginative function of the images.

5.4 *Conclusion*

Gallonio had no interest in technological progress. Worldly glory was transitory and vain. According to him, mankind should not become fixated on

worldly innovation, but put their minds to divine eternity. Outdoing one's peers by designing powerful machines was not a triumph but a futile occupation. Martyrs gave a good example by surrendering themselves entirely to the tribulations to which God subjected them. They fought their fight not by trying to resist the tortures, but on the contrary by undergoing them in the trust that God was acting in their best interests.

In order to give shape to this standpoint, Gallonio initially fashioned a book of martyrological emblems as a spiritual counterpart to a machine theater. It was a compendium of ingenious instruments of torture that would be more edifying for the aristocracy, the intended readership for his first hagiographical project, than their worldly heraldic symbols and the martial culture that these represented. It was not without good reason that the publication of the treatise of martyrdom occurred in a period that flamboyantly illustrated books full of spectacular machines threatened to inflate the pride of the social elite, at the expense of Christian humility. The treatise of martyrdom was a remedy for this. Just like most machine theaters, the treatise of martyrdom was initially published in Italian, and only after that in Latin.

In the Latin edition Gallonio reworked the collection of martyrological emblems, making it more technical and less graphic. In this new version it was less important to etch the instruments in the memory of the public. Using references to authoritative sources and logical arguments, Gallonio tried to compile a correct martyrological vocabulary. Pedagogic intentions and polemics held sway over technological interest. The illustrations show that Gallonio only wanted to create the impression of mechanical correctness. The priest was not a mechanical engineer, any more than a jurist or a physician. He was a cleric who wanted to offer a spiritual alternative to a number of spheres of expertise in order to convince as broad a readership as possible of the Christian values of humility and self-sacrifice.

Fig. 5t. *Ungula*, kept in the *Tesoro di San Pietro* (photo courtesy of Massimiliano Ghilardi).

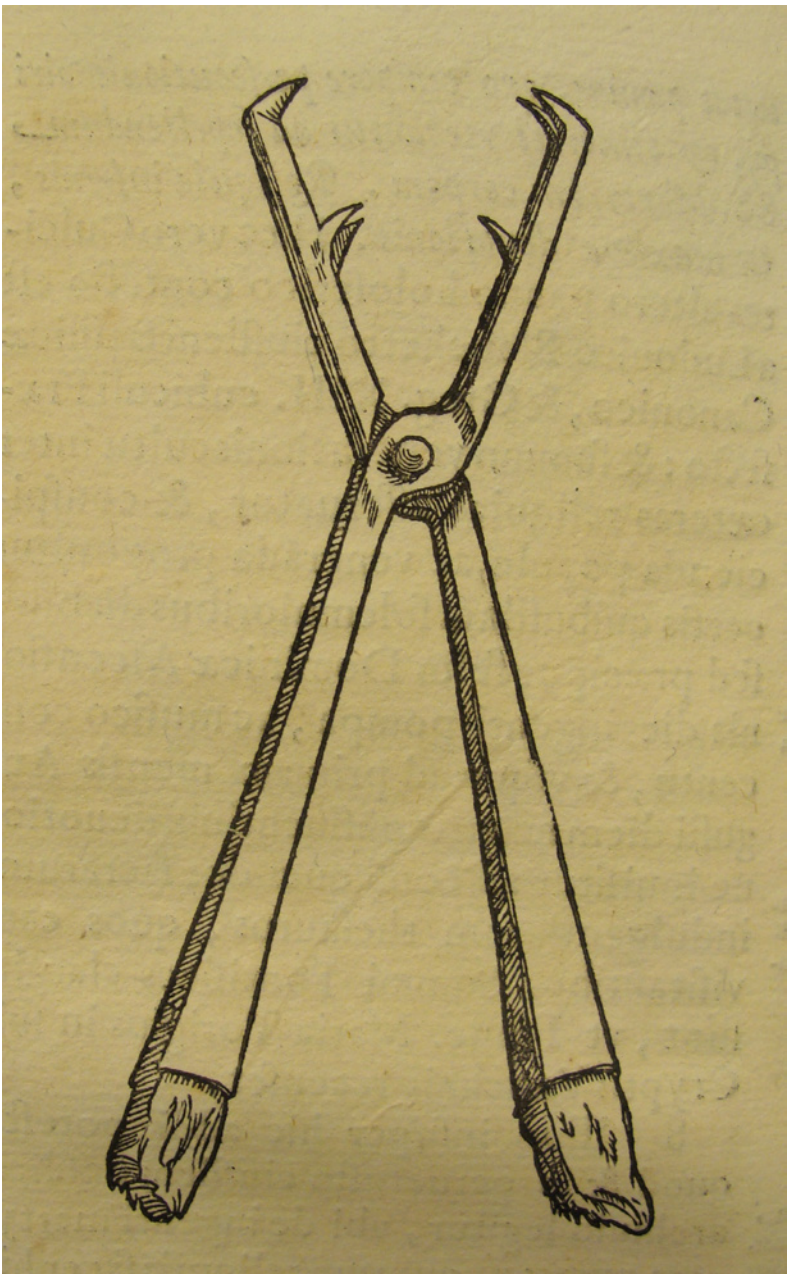

Fig. 5u. Francesco Fulcaro (attributed to), *Ungula*, engraving from: Antonio Bosio, *Roma subterranea,* ed. Giovanni Severano, transl. Paolo Aringhi (Rome: V. Mascardi, 1651) I, 220.

CHAPTER SIX

COLLECTING MATERIAL ABOUT SAINTS

The typological, achronological, repetitive nature of *historia sacra* determined how Gallonio gathered, arranged and presented hagiographical information. Saints and all things relating to them, such as texts, images and objects, were equivalent signs of divine mercy. Accordingly, Gallonio collected all the testimonies of sanctity that he could lay his hands on. His publications are subsets extracted from the testimonies that he collected. We have seen that the selection and presentation of these subsets were informed by parallels with other disciplines, depending on the situation: law if the justification of the saint's cult was at stake, medicine if the healing function of a saint required emphasis, engineering if the instruments of martyrdom came to the foreground. Yet the base of testimonies from which Gallonio drew his material was always the same.

Gallonio's rigorous classification of all manner of observations and fragments of knowledge is similar to the way that Bozio organized the signs denoting the true Church in *De signis ecclesiae Dei*. More generally, the collaborative way in which Gallonio collected material pertaining to sanctity, the logical categorization that he applied to this material, and the emblematic presentation of the material effected in his publications, were all methods similar to those used by a broad array of early modern collectors. While Gallonio collected texts, he also took into account the material traces that saints had left behind in the world. His work thus displays similarities with that of the collectors active in various other fields, who combined texts and objects.

In this chapter we review several aspects of collecting that scholars had in common in the early modern period, whether their collections were made up of *artificialia, naturalia*, devotional items or a mix of all of these. While secular scholars praised God by studying his creation in the form of natural phenomena or human artefacts, Gallonio honored God by studying his saints. He was a collector of what I call *sanctimonialia*, elements of information that refer to saints, their characteristics, actions, or tangible legacy. In his writings he processed *sanctimonialia* into emblems that denoted divine grace.

6.1 *Collection*

Gallonio collected a wide variety of testimonies relating to saints. His passion for collecting information inspired him to a way of working for which he may have been indebted to the very worldly scholars whom he was supposed to guide in spiritual matters. He collaborated with a close-knit network of correspondents who were actively engaged in seeking out the hagiographical testimonies in which he was interested. Where possible, these testimonies were eyewitness reports, and originated from someone who had been as close as possible to the event soon after it occurred. Gallonio placed importance on the material aspects of testimonies, partly because these aspects instigated devotion, but also because they provided information for the purposes of historical reconstruction.

Collaboration in Collecting

Above, we have repeatedly encountered Restituta, a young Christian Roman woman of the third century who was interrogated and beaten with a thorny rod (§ 3.3, § 5.3). Her *historia*, included in Gallonio's book about Roman virgins, follows the pattern well-known since Late Antiquity. She refused to marry as she wanted to devote her life to Christ, and fled to Sora (incidentally the birthplace of Cesare Baronio). There she cured a leper, and was instrumental in a large number of conversions. As a result, she attracted the attention of the local proconsul, Agathius, who had her and dozens of other Christians put to death in 275, under Emperor Aurelian.

Gallonio documents the life of Restituta meticulously. He takes care to remove any doubt that she had actually existed—important in a period when the cults of the saints were likely to be suppressed by the central ecclesiastical authorities if historical evidence was inadequate. Fortunately he was able to point out that there were remains of her body in existence, and an ancient account of her life. Her relics were in a church in Sora that had been dedicated to her, where a handwritten version of a description of her life was also to be found. Gallonio states that the church authorities had sent a copy of this *vita* to Baronio, which had subsequently ended up in 'our library', the library of the Congregation of the Oratory.

A complicating factor was that two virgin saints by the name of Restituta were venerated in Campania. In a remark in the *historia* of Restituta, Gallonio explains that the *Martyrologium Romanum* mentions another Saint Restituta. Under Emperor Valerian she had been put to sea on the

North African coast in a small boat containing burning rags and pitch, which landed on Ischia. Since then, the second Restituta had enjoyed great veneration on Ischia and in Naples. A handwritten example of the history of this Restituta was to be found in the church in Naples dedicated to her.[1]

Among Gallonio's manuscripts are two items relating to a Saint Restituta. One of them is a text about the Restituta to whom he devotes a chapter in the *Historia delle sante vergini romane*. The text is intended to be read out aloud; it is divided into *lectiones*, and is loosely bound, not being part of a larger whole. Gallonio hastily noted in the upper margin: 'Restituta virgin and martyr', and scribbled in the left-hand margin the date of the liturgical saint's day: '27 May'.[2] This is the piece on which he based his text in the *Historia delle sante vergini romane*. Another document relates to the Restituta who was put to sea from North Africa to Ischia under Valerian. Gallonio again added the date of the liturgical celebration: '17 May', so at a glance it is apparent that this relates to another woman, whose veneration falls on a different date in the annual liturgical cycle. Underneath the title 'Passion of S. Restituta virgin and martyr' the provenance of the text has been registered: 'From the ecclesiastical documents of the City of Naples'.[3] This is the handwritten text to which he refers in his remark about the second Restituta.

Ancient texts, preferably from as early as possible, were Gallonio's first and principal sources of information. The creation of the core fund of the oldest manuscripts of the Biblioteca Vallicelliana is in part due to his passion for collecting documents. He ensured that by means of a number of donations, commencing in September 1592, Abbot Giacomo Crescenzi enriched the library of the Oratory with some thirty codices from his Sant'Eutizio Abbey in Norcia; some of these manuscripts date from the eleventh century, and they contain many hagiographical texts.[4]

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[1] 'L'originale di questa Historia si tiene nella Chiesa di Sora, di cui Restituta è protettrice, della quale ne havemo copia nella nostra libraria, mandata già da quella Chiesa al P. Cesare […] Scrive il medesimo Martirologio Romano di una Santa di questo nome a'17. di Maggio, […] L'Historia di questa Santa Vergine si trova in Napoli, nella Chiesa à lei dedicata', Antonio Gallonio, *Historia delle sante vergini romane* (Rome: A. and G. Donangeli, 1591 [i.e. 1593]) 97.

[2] 'Restituta V. et M.', '27 Maii', BibVal Ms. H.4 f. 307ro.

[3] 'Passio S. Restitutae virginis, et martyris. Ex Neapolitanae Civitatis ecclesiasticis tabulis.' BibVal Ms. H.4 f. 191ro.

[4] Antonio Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri, l'Oratorio e la Congregazione oratoriana. Storia e spiritualità* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 1989) II, 810–811; Anna Maria Giorgetti Vichi and

In addition to texts, relics also provided substantial documentation of the existence and recognition of saints. In 1594, Abbot Crescenzi had the relics of Eutitius and Spes, the patron saints of his abbey, exhumed from their respective depositories behind the altar and in the choir of the abbey's church. He had them buried in the crypt behind the high altar in a lead box within a new wooden chest. The abbot had their heads placed separately in small wooden chests in the sacristy in anticipation of the completion of two silver holders in the shapes of their heads. Crescenzi ordered a small single bone from Eutitius' body to be set in a crystal holder with a silver mount, so that everyone could come to the sacristy and admire and revere it. Texts and objects continually went hand in hand in the cult of the saints. At the same time, objects and occurrences in which the objects played a central role, as in the case of the *translatio* instigated by Giacomo Crescenzi, also provided new texts that served both as certification of what had happened and as a means of publicizing and reenacting the event. Gallonio wrote a report of the reinterment and included this in his dossier. The original report of the *translatio* ceremony was in the archive of the abbey in Norcia, not the most accessible of places, but Gallonio wrote an abridged version of the original and took it with him to Rome for the benefit of anyone interested.[5]

Collaboration was extremely important for Gallonio's collection. Collectors of all sorts of objects, whether texts, relics, ancient objects or plants and animals, maintained an extensive social network. The printing presses, correspondence networks and learned societies which held regular meetings, stimulated the swift and frequent exchange of information.[6]

Sergio Mottironi eds., *Catalogo dei manoscritti della Biblioteca Vallicelliana* I (Rome: Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 1961) ix–xi, 3, 20, 187, 320.

[5] 'uberius ac plenius conscriptum habetur in Archivio eiusdem Ecclesiae, a quo haec pauca brevitate consulentes referenda desumpsimus.' BibVal Ms. H.18 f. 326ro.

[6] Ann Blair, 'Annotating and indexing natural philosophy' in: Marina Frasca-Spada and Nick Jardine eds., *Books and the Sciences in History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 69–89 (69–89); Paula Findlen, 'The formation of a scientific community' in: Anthony Grafton and Nancy G. Siraisi eds., *Natural Particulars. Nature and the Disciplines in Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1999) 369–400 (390–392); Saverio Ricci, 'I Lincei: l'invenzione della mediazione accademica. Nuova scienza, religione, vita civile' in: C. Brice and A. Romano eds., *Sciences et religions de Copernic à Galilée (1560–1610): actes du colloque international organisé par l'École française de Rome. Rome, 12–14 décembre 1996* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1999) 205–234; Stefano Zen, *Baronio storico: Controriforma e crisi del metodo umanistico* (Naples: Vivarium, 1994) 80–92; Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994) 346–392; Carlo Maccagni, 'Le raccolte e i musei di storia naturale e gli orti botanici come istituzioni alternative e complementari rispetto

In the Middle Ages in royal and monastic circles antiquities and objects from nature had been collected indiscriminately, together with the amassing of books. By the sixteenth century the increase in the number of texts and objects available compelled collectors to limit the scope of their collections. Collectors increasingly demarcated specific collections of, for example, stones, portraits or Greek manuscripts, and Gallonio made it his speciality to bring together hagiographical texts.[7] The manuscripts that contain the hagiographical collection of Gallonio reflect his intensive collaboration with numerous clerics and members of the laity, particularly in Italy but also beyond.

Gallonio had people in different regions that collected hagiographical texts for him. They could chance upon them by accident or search for them actively. Much of the material that Gallonio acquired and which has been saved relates to the cults of the saints in various places in Romagna. It was a large-scale campaign to fully inventory the relics and hagiographical texts of that region.[8] Most of the correspondence relating to Romagna was conducted by Gallonio's intermediate Fabrizio Paolucci, a prelate who was involved in the administration of the areas of the Papal States. His correspondents called him 'Agente della Romagna'.[9]

One of the people whose help Paolucci called upon was Francesco Quaini from Imola (§ 2.1). Quaini was asked to research two aspects: which saints' relics were venerated by the inhabitants of Imola, and which *vitae* and *officia* related to these saints. These were precisely the two types of testimonies that were also available for Restituta of Sora and for Eutitius and Spes of Norcia. In February 1595, a month after his first dispatch with *vitae* of Cassian and Chrysologus, Quaini reported to Paolucci that he

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alla cultura delle Università e delle Accademie' in: Laetitia Boehm and Ezio Raimondi eds., *Università, accademie e società scientifiche in Italia e in Germania dal Cinquecento al Settecento* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1981) 283–310.

[7] Giuseppe Olmi, *L'Inventario del mondo. Catalogazione della natura e luoghi del sapere nella prima età moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1992) 176–179; Adalgisa Lugli, *Naturalia et mirabilia: il collezionismo enciclopedico nelle Wunderkammern d'Europa* (Milan: G. Mazzotta, 1983) 13–36, 61–73.

[8] Already noted by Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 47–50.

[9] Letters exchanged with Francesco Quaini, Claudio Paci, Francesco Bandini: BibVal Ms. H.3 ff. 46vo, 47vo ('della comune provincia agente generale'), 233vo, 244vo, 286vo, 287vo, 288vo. See further Klaus Jaitner, 'Der Hof Clemens' VIII. (1592–1605). Eine Prosopographie', *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 84 (2004) 137–331 (210). See also for Paolucci: Ferdinando Ughelli, *Italia sacra sive De episcopis Italiae et insularum adjacentium* (Rome: B. Tano, 1644–1662) I, 593.

had found some other documents relating to Saint Chrysologus in the possession of a jurist, Giuseppe Gibetti. He had had these documents copied, but had had no time to study them.[10] Quaini did not find it strange that among the private papers of a jurist he had stumbled upon hagiographical texts that were difficult or impossible to find elsewhere; Gibetti was not the only layperson among the people called upon to assist Paolucci and Gallonio in the collection of hagiographical testimonies. For example, there exists a fairly extensive exchange of correspondence between Paolucci and Claudio Paci, his contact person in Rimini. Paci was a nobleman who signed his correspondence as *Cavalier*.[11]

The well-known physician Girolamo Mercuriale (1530–1606) also involved himself in the collection of hagiographical texts for the Roman clerics. In 1595 he wrote to Paolucci from Pisa. He had had the *vitae* of Saints Potitus and Ephysius copied from a liturgical work that was located in Pisa Cathedral. He also gave his opinion of it: although the book was full of errors, it was comprehensible.[12] A year earlier Mercuriale had asked Federico Borromeo to send him a copy of Carlo Bascapé's *vita* of the prelate's deceased cousin Carlo. The archbishop answered that this *vita* could no longer be found, since it had been printed in Germany and very few copies had arrived in Italy.[13] Evidently Mercuriale was interested in both ancient and modern hagiography. The fact that he, like Paolucci, came from Forlì may have been the basis of their collaboration in the search for hagiographical sources, and partly explains Mercuriale's own interest in hagiography. As we will see, Mercuriale had a prominent chapel in the main church of his native city of Forlì refurbished and dedicated to Saints Jerome and Mercuralis, in homage to both the preferred saint of humanist scholars and the patron saint of the city, and at the same time a

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10 BibVal Ms. H.3 ff. 29ro–29vo.

11 'Il Cavalier Claudio Paci', BibVal Ms. H.3 f. 283ro. Letters from Paci: BibVal Ms. H.3 ff. 40ro–40vo; 69ro–69vo; 232ro–233vo; 243vo–244ro; 283ro–283vo; 284ro–284vo and 285ro–285vo; BibVal Ms. H.8^{I} f. 230ro–230vo.

12 'Ex lectionario Ecclesiae Archiepiscopalis Pisanae', BibVal Ms. H.3 ff. 182ro–188vo.

13 'Io ho differito il rispondere alla lettera di S.S. del xii per la speranza ch'io havevo di trovar una copia della vita del signor Cardinale mio, che sia in Cielo. Ma con tutta la diligenza, che io ho fatto usare, non se n'e potuto trovar alcuna ne per prieghi ne per prezzo. Ne S.S. si meravigli di ciò, perchè quell'opera fu stampata in Allemagna alcuni anni sono. E non capitorno in Italia se non pochissimi essemplari, che si spedirono subito', BA Ms. G.26oinf f. 173ro. In this letter Borromeo is referring to Carlo Bascapé, *De vita et rebus gestis Caroli Borromaei* (Ingolstadt: D. Sartorius, 1592). See for the controversial nature of this *vita* Miguel Gotor, 'Agiografia e censura libraria: la Vita di san Carlo Borromeo' in: Paolo Golinelli ed., *Il pubblico dei santi. Forme e livelli di ricezione dei messaggi agiografici* (Rome: Viella, 2000) 193–226.

way of having his own name live on among his compatriots.[14] His collaboration with Paolucci and the Oratorians may even have been instrumental in securing permission from the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies in 1603 to have the relics of Saint Mercurialis moved from the main altar to this newly decorated chapel.[15]

The collaboration in collecting thus overlapped with the mutual support in ecclesiastical or worldly careers. This interlacing of personal careers and collaboration in diverse intellectual fields applied to all collectors of *sanctimonialia, artificialia* and also *naturalia*. For example, the papal *archiater* Michele Mercati not only helped his former teacher Andrea Cesalpino to find work at the Papal Court, he also supported the Bolognese physician and collector Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522–1605) in his attempts to come into contact with potential benefactors, including Fulvio Orsini (1529–1600) and Guglielmo Sirleto (1514–1585).[16] Together with Onofrio Panvinio, Pirro Ligorio and Girolamo Mercuriale, Fulvio Orsini formed a group of scholars who in the 1560s and 1570s occupied themselves with antiquities and who found favor with the Farnese family, for whom Orsini was librarian.[17] One of Mercuriale's students dedicated a collection of his lessons about skin complaints to Cardinal Sirleto, the Vatican librarian who supervised the revision of the *Martyrologium Romanum*, in which Baronio took the lead in the 1580s.[18]

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[14] A. Colombi Ferreti, L. Prati and U. Tramonti, *Il complesso monumentale di San Mercuriale a Forlì. Restauri* (Forlì: STCgroup, 2000) 14–17.

[15] 'Abbas et Monaci Monasterii, et Ecclesiae sancti Mercurialis ordinis, seu Congregationis Vallisumbrosae in Forolivii petierunt à Sacra Rituum Congregatione licentiam transferendi corpus eiusdem sancti Mercurialis confessoris, et dictae civitatis Foroliviensis Episcopi ab Altare maiori, ubi ad praesens est, in Sacellum noviter extructum in eadem Ecclesia, ubi decentius venerabitur. Eadem sacra Congregatione Rituum censuit concedi posse, dummodo nihil tangatur vel amoveatur de Reliquiis dicti corporis, sed integrum, pro ut nunc est, cum reverentia, honore, processione, et debitis coerimoniis transferatur, et ita censuit, concessit, et declaravit die 12 Aprilis 1603.' ACCS. Decretorum Congregationis Sacrorum Rituum. Liber secundus à 1602 usque ad 1610, p. 62.

[16] Findlen, *Possessing Nature*, 373–374.

[17] Ingo Herklotz, *Cassiano dal Pozzo und die Archäologie des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Hirmer, 1999) 215–219.

[18] Giuseppe Antonio Guazzelli, 'Cesare Baronio e il *Martyrologium Romanum*: problemi interpretativi e linee evolutive di un rapporto diacronico' in: Massimo Firpo ed., *Nunc alia tempora, alii mores. Storici e storia in età postridentina. Atti del Convegno internazionale Torino, 24–27 settembre 2003* (Florence: Olschki, 2005) 47–89 (55–58, 60–62); Girolamo Mercuriale, *Sixteenth Century Physician and his Methods: Mercurialis on Diseases of the Skin: The First Book on the Subject (1572)*, ed. and transl. Richard L. Sutton (Kansas City: Lowell Press, 1986) xxi, xxviii, 2–4.

Even more than Mercuriale, Mercati was in close touch with the Oratorians. Francesco Maria Tarugi and Mercati spoke to one another at the end of 1592 at a banquet hosted by Silvio Antoniano, the prelate for whom Gallonio wrote hagiographical texts designed for juridical examination. Tarugi was afraid that he would have to leave the Oratory because the pope was going to appoint him as administrator of the hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia. Mercati gave him advice as to how he could avoid this without causing affront to the pope. The Tuscan physician was himself appointed to this administrative function at the Roman hospital one year later, shortly before his death.[19] These people supported one another in delicate affairs of etiquette and personal advancement at the Papal Court. The collection and classification of hagiographical, historical and natural information was part of a broader pattern of the continuous exchange of favors and protection of interests.

A comparable network of interests and activities can also be traced in the correspondence relating to saints from Romagna. A number of people that searched for hagiographical texts for Gallonio and Paolucci were involved in the administration of small towns in Romagna on behalf of the Curia. In June 1595 Fabio Aresti (†1609), himself an Oratorian, sent Paolucci a document about local saints from Faenza.[20] Aresti had in February succeeded the jurist Girolamo Tempestivi as governor of this city. Tempestivi for his part had acquired this role a year earlier after having been governor of Imola, approximately seventeen kilometers to the northwest. This jurist must have been related to Fabio and Cherubino Tempestivi, whose correspondence relating to the case files of Chiara da Montefalco ended up in Gallonio's possession. Cherubino Tempestivi was a chamberlain at the Papal Court.[21] His brother Fabio Tempestivi had in 1585 published an *officium* in honor of Cassian, the patron saint of Imola. The aforementioned Francesco Quaini from Imola, who had recourse to the jurist Gibetti while he was collecting hagiographical materials in his city, must have belonged to the same network of Oratorians and of local administrators working on behalf of the Papal Court, in which Paolucci and members of the Tempestivi family were key figures. Giacomo Quaini (1588ca.–1626), a relative of Francesco, later donated a copy of Tempestivi's *officium* of Cassian to the

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[19] Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, II, 817–819; the appointment of Mercati as *commendatore* is mentioned in Bruno Accordi, 'Michele Mercati (1541–1593) e la Metallotheca', *Geologica romana* 19 (1980) 1–50 (4).

[20] BibVal Ms. H.3 176ro–179vo.

[21] Jaitner, 'Der Hof Clemens' VIII.', 216, 219, 223; Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, II, 838.

Oratorian library, the young cleric from Imola himself joining the Oratory in 1610, where he held discourses about the behavior of ants.[22] Again we see the Oratorians firmly embedded in a network of patronage and exchange that combined local administration and scholarship.

Apart from collaboration, there was also rivalry. Between 1592 and 1595 there was tension between Gallonio and Baronio.[23] This conflict resounded in the network that Gallonio drew upon to acquire his material. At the beginning of 1595 Paolucci asked *Cavalier* Paci for material about the saints that were venerated in Rimini. Paci answered that he could send something, but would first like to know for whom it was intended. He had already sent a *vita* of Saint Gaudentius, together with other material, to Baronio, and it did not seem worthwhile having the same texts copied again if his correspondents in Rome already had them in their possession.[24] A month later, when Paci learned from Paolucci that the latter had made the request on behalf of Gallonio, he wrote to say that he would indeed save himself the effort of having the Rimini *vitae* transcribed. It would be better if Gallonio first enquired of Baronio as to what the latter had already received from Paci.[25]

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[22] Written by hand on the title page: 'Jacobi Quaini Imolensis necnon amicorum', BibVal Ms. H.10 ff. 288ro–311ro; although it is among the manuscripts of Gallonio, this printed *officium* formerly in the possession of Quaini probably entered the collection after Gallonio died, as Quaini was not born until 1588, and entered the Oratory after Gallonio's decease. Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, III, 2215–2216.

[23] Gallonio's intention to criticize Baronio's work in 1592 is discussed in § 1.1. See Giuseppe Finocchiaro, *Cesare Baronio e la Tipografia dell'Oratorio: impresa e ideologia* (Florence: Olschki, 2005) 89–91.

[24] 'non mancarò di procurare, che le siano somministrate quelle vite, et cose che in tal materia possano esser di profitto all'amico suo [...] Non sò anco, che vita sia stata quella di S. Godenzo con certe appendici de SS. Mercuriale et Roffillo; che V.S. avisa esserle stata mandata l'altro giorno dal nostro signor Governatore. Ella potrà, parendole, avvertirmi di qualche particolare, et di quello che ha già in mano di Santi di Rimino il detto scrittore; accioche soverchiamente, et con fatica frustatoria non se le desse ciò che tiene. Mi sarà anco caro intendere, chi sia questo autore, et l'intendimento suo, et il titolo dell'opera; et se per sorte fosse il molto Reverendo P. Cesare Barone scrittore de gli Annali Ecc.ci. Il tutto per bene.', BibVal Ms. H.3 f. 40ro.

[25] 'Io ero pronto, et apparecchiato per far metter insieme, et mandar à V.S. le vite de'nostri Santi [...] mà havendo ricevuto la lettera di V.S., et inteso, che l'amico suo, per il quale ella cercava questo, è il P. Antonio Gallonio, compagno, ò convittore del P. Cesare Baronio, mi son restato da cotal fatica soverchia. Percio che mi trovo già haver scritto, et trasmesso sufficientemente quanto ci è in simil'occasione al sudetto molto Reverendo, et dottissimo P. Baronio mio caro amico, et signore, onde non occorrerà di cercar'altro dintorno à Rimini al P. Gallonio, salvo che si farsi communicar al suo confratello P. Baronio quello, che li hò scritto, et comandato à questi mesi passati.' BibVal Ms. H.3 ff. 243ro.

While Gallonio and Baronio were members of the same order and lived in the same building, they had to learn from a correspondent in Rimini that they were looking for the same documents. This demonstrates that the relationship between them at the beginning of 1595 had not yet been restored completely. After the death of Neri and the accession to the cardinalate of Baronio, the relationship changed swiftly. This becomes apparent from the *vitae* of Flavia Domitilla, Nereus and Achilleus that Gallonio wrote on the instructions of the cardinal on the basis of the same hagiographical material that he had been collecting for years.[26] Baronio then rose rapidly in the ecclesiastical hierarchy and Gallonio found it necessary to adopt a prudently respectful attitude to his former rival.

Empirical Observations

The correspondence that accompanied the consignments of hagiographical texts shows that the importance that Gallonio and his contacts attached to personal observation and material traces was ambivalent. Information about the physical characteristics of testimonies contributed to a correct estimation of their value, but it was not seen as a problem if the reports of such observations were second- or third-hand. Gallonio was content to leave the actual observation to others.

Here and there the value of the material quality of the sources emerges from the correspondence. Correspondents emphasized that they had seen with their own eyes the texts of which they had ordered transcriptions to be made, or the images or objects that they described. Gallonio had received *vitae* of Saints Severinus and Victorinus from an unidentified correspondent. According to the heading added subsequently, this text had been copied from an old *breviarium* made of parchment. In this case the material seems to have served as an indication of the age of the liturgical book.[27] In another dispatch, Orazio Bezzo sent from Forlì a decree written on parchment, which bore a 'rather oblong' red wax seal. The description of the decree with its material aspects, the parchment and the wax seal, is underlined.[28] The material, palpable and perceptible aspects of documents were often mentioned in this way by the contact persons when

[26] See § 2.3.

[27] 'Vita di San Severino et Vittorino cavata da un Breviario vechio de carta pecora della chiesa di San Severino.' BibVal Ms. H.2 ff. 213ro–215ro.

[28] 'Subito tornato di villa, trovato la presente scrittura in carta pecora con un sigillo grande alquanto longhetto di cera rossa, n'ho preso coppia, mandandola à V.S.' BibVal Ms. H.3 f. 445ro (emphasis original).

they responded to the requests for information. The empirical authentication of findings increased the value of the testimonies.

Observation was, however, often not direct, but occurred via intermediaries. A striking example of this is provided by Gallonio's two handwritten versions of the *vita* of Nicola Pellegrino, patron saint of the city of Trani in Puglia. The originals were located in the archive of the city's cathedral. Someone had furnished Gallonio's copies with comments.[29] This person expressed his doubts about the accuracy of the first *vita*. It did not correspond with the second version, which by contrast the annotator had deemed very reliable. The author of the second version, a certain Deacon Amandus, had, after all, been an eyewitness to the event. Furthermore, the description of the relics of the saint in this second version matched up with what the annotator himself had observed in the cathedral in Trani.[30] In order to authenticate both the texts and the accompanying observations, the secretary to Archbishop Giulio Caracciolo of Trani added a sealed statement in which he guaranteed that the canon and notary Giovanni Battista Petrucci had made copies faithful to the parchment original. The eyewitness reports were thus given legally valid certification.[31]

Gallonio also gained indirect cognizance of material testimony that supplemented the written *vitae* of Mercurialis, the patron saint of Forlì. In the spring of 1595, Abbot Cesare Mainardi of the monastery of San Mercuriale sent Gallonio a *vita* of the saint, together with a transcription of a marble plaque. This plaque was located in a wall of a chapel in the monastery's church. It bore an inscription that described its origin: it had originally been in the stone wall of a coffin in which the body of Mercurialis had been found in 1232, and in which the body had been put on public

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[29] BibVal Ms. H.2 ff. 58ro–100ro.

[30] 'Tutto questo che s'è detto sin'qua io l'ho per poco securo. Perche in alcune cose son contrarie l'attioni racontate in questa prima vita, alla vita sequente alla quale io do fede indubitatissima si perche l'autore scrive di veduta, si anco per le conformita le quali io son andato scorgendo nell'istessa patria dove è il corpo dell' santo. Nella lettera io cennarò a V.R. li dubbi che m'occorrono', BibVal Ms. H.2 f. 72vo.

[31] 'Julius Caracciolus Dei, et Apostolicae sedis gratia Archiepiscopus Tranensis et Salpen. re. Universis, et singulis presentes inspecturis fidem facimus, et testamus, qualiter in Archivio nostre Metropolitanae Tranensis ecclesiae conservatur quidam vetustissimus liber in carta membrana scriptus, in quo Vita Mors, et Translatio beati Nicolai Peregrini continetur ex quo libro de ordine et mandato nostro fuit facta presens copia per D. Jo. Bapistam Petrutium Canonicum predictae nostrae ecclesiae, ac publicum Apostolica auctoritate Notarium fidelem, atque legalem: Cuius scripturis publicis semper adhibita fuit, pro ut ad presentes plena adhibetur fides. In quorum & presentes nostra manu subscripsimus, nostroque solito sigillo muniri Iussimus. Dat. Trani Die v. mensis Julii 1596—Archiepiscopus Tranensis Vincentius Dethius secretarius', BibVal H.2 f. 100vo.

display for a period of fifteen days. The inscription on the thirteenth-century marble plaque incorporated the epitaph of the saint, as it had been discovered on a lead plate which was even older: 'Here rests the body of Saint Mercurialis, Bishop of Forlì, the date of whose death verily [is] 30 April 156'.[32] In 1576 the Bishop of Forlì had found this older, lead plate bearing the epitaph under the high altar, accompanied by some bones wrapped in silk, these being identified as the relics of Saint Mercurialis.[33] As we saw above, Girolamo Mercuriale, the physician from Forlì who corresponded with Paolucci, subsequently had a chapel in the church of San Mercuriale newly equipped to receive the relics of the saint.[34]

Just like in Trani, in Forlì the observations of Gallonio's contacts were useful supplements to the texts sent. In this case, however, the epigraphic testimony also caused some consternation. The epitaph which stated that Mercurialis had died in 156 did not correspond with the hagiographical tradition, which reported the bishop's presence at a council in Rimini as late as 359.[35] Claudio Paci was aware of the problem, noting that in a *vita* of Bishop Gaudentius, patron saint of Rimini, there was mention of Mercurialis' involvement in the council in that city.[36] One Antonio Numai tried in vain to find a solution to this. He turned the library of the Forlì Dominicans inside out, but found nothing that settled the matter.[37] The

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[32] '1232 In una tavoletta che haviamo appicata al muro, nella Cappella di Santo Mercuriale si leggono queste parole Ex tabula lapidea inventa in Arca Domini Mercurialis A.D. Mccxxxii tempore Gregorii Papae Federici Imperatoris xi Kalendas septembris Aperta fuit haec Arca per Dominum Albertum episcopum et Petrum Abbatem et expositum hoc Beati Mercurialis corpus quindecim diebus omnibus ad videndum in Arca inventa est lamina continens ut infra ex lamina plumbea inventa in eadem Arca In nomine Patris et filii et spiritus sancti. Hic requiescit corpus Beati Mercurialis episcopi liviensis obitus vero eius pridie kalendas Maii CLVI', BibVal Ms. H.2 ff. 339ro–340ro, 346ro.

[33] *Ordine et modo tenuto da monsig. Antonio Giannotto, vescovo di Forlì, in celebrare il Giubileo dell'Anno Santo, et quello della peste* (Cesena: B. Raveri, 1578) 19.

[34] Paolo Bonoli, *Istorie della citta di Forli, intrecciate di varii accidenti della Romagna, e dell'Italia. Distinte in dodici libri* (Forlì: Cimatti e Saporetti, 1661).

[35] Godefroy Henschen and Daniel van Papenbroek, *Acta Sanctorum. Aprilis* III (Antwerp: J. Meursius, 1675) 751–752.

[36] 'Di piu con lettera lunga sotto li 12 Genaro prossimo li hò scritto, et di scarso sopra il sudetto S. Godenzo, et la difficoltà che nasce nella sua istoria, sopra S. Mercuriale, S. Roffilo, S. Manno, S. Girolamo, la Pentapoli, et Provintia di Rimino', BibVal Ms. H.3 f. 243ro.

[37] 'Hò faticato tutta mattina indarno per V.S. nella libraria di S. Domenico dove sò di haver altre volte veduto la vita di S. Mercuriale nostro protettore, e alcuni de suoi miracoli, ma in questa mattina hò rivoltato dal primo fin all'ultimo tutti quei libri, nè hò potuto trovarla.' Antonio Numai to Fabrizio Paolucci, 26 November 1594, BibVal Ms. H.8^{I} f. 485ro; 'Qui alligato sarà quel poco ch'io raccolsi di quei benedetti santi nostri Tutellari', Numai to Paolucci, 3 December 1594, BibVal Ms. H.8^{I} f. 494ro; 'M'incresce [*sic*] di non meritar ringratiamenti, poiche la fatica è stata gettata. Altrevolte forse havrò più fortuna in servir

intensive collaboration with local correspondents provided a large amount of information, but also revealed the extent to which hagiographical data, including the textual traditions and material testimonies, were both fragmented and conflicting.

It was unusual to deduce information from material sources without reference to texts. The rationale of Antonio Bosio in the identification of the bodies of Saint Cecilia and her companions Valerianus and Tiburtius demonstrates this. In 1600 he published a *vita* of these early Christian martyrs following the discovery and inspection of their bodies a year earlier by Cardinals Paolo Emilio Sfondrati (1560–1618) and Baronio. In his *vita* Bosio describes how their bodies had been found under the altar of the church of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere. The first body recovered was that of Tiburtius, Cecilia's brother-in-law, the second that of Valerianus, her fiancé. Their identities were apparent from the sequence of the names on the inscription that hung above. As an afterthought Bosio added that the first body was headless and, seeing that the head of Tiburtius was kept in a tabernacle outside the church, this body must have been his. Even for Bosio, the champion of the exploration of the catacombs, the text of the inscription took precedence over the observation of the mortal remains themselves.[38]

Gallonio's interest in tangible antiquities is expressed most concretely in the inventory of the relics of saints. His correspondence with Fabrizio

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V.S. se le piacerà commandarmi. In quelle mie bagatelle vedrà, ch'io non differisco tanto alla lamina, che per questo resti senza fede l'historia, ne tanto a questa che a quella non si possa credere, finche si trovi qualche cosa di piu momento, s'il Voragine sia tale, che levi il dubbio, sia giudizio di V.S. molto più fino che il mio.' Numai to Paolucci, 10 December 1594, BibVal Ms. H.8[I] f. 493[ro].

[38] Antonio Bosio, *Historia passionis B. Caeciliae* (Rome: S. Paolini, 1600) 6. The copy that was in Gallonio's possession is located in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana, with the signature: S.Borr.F.III.151. For the discovery of the body of Cecilia and her companions: C. Franzoni, '"Urbe Roma in pristinam formam renascente." Le antichità di Roma durante il Rinascimento' in: Antonio Pinelli ed., *Roma del Rinascimento* (Rome: Laterza, 2001) 291–333 (334–335). For Bosio, who was the first to carry out empirical research systematically in the catacombs: Massimiliano Ghilardi, *Subterranea civitas: quattro studi sulle catacombe romane dal medioevo all'età moderna* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 2003) 12–13, who agrees with the historiography, which time and again since the nineteenth century has confirmed the opinion of Giovanni Battista De Rossi: Giovanni Battista De Rossi, *La Roma sotterranea cristiana, descritta ed illustrata* (Frankfurt a.M.: Minerva-Verlag, 1966 [repr. Rome: Cromolitografia pontificia, 1864–1877]) 26–46. For the most important publications about Christian archaeology and the role of Bosio therein, see also § 2.3. For a nuanced version of this interpretation of the significance of Bosio to Christian archaeology: Simon Ditchfield, 'Text before trowel: Antonio Bosio's Roma sotterranea revisited' in: R.N. Swanson ed., *The Church Retrospective* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997) 343–360 (353–358).

Paolucci provides insight into his interest in the material remains of saints. In 1598 Paolucci himself traveled through the region north of the Apennines. He followed the train of Roman clergy who journeyed north with Pope Clement VIII during the incorporation of Ferrara into the Papal States. Angelo Velli (1540ca.–1622), Provost of the Oratory, also traveled with them, and on his return from Ferrara at the end of 1598 spent the night at Paolucci's house in Forlì.[39] From time to time Paolucci recounted his experiences in letters sent to Gallonio, accompanied by supplementary materials. He recorded a large number of relics that he had either heard of on his travels or had seen personally.[40] He also reported remarkable effects that the material remains of saints brought about. In San Marino, in the church dedicated to the city's patron saint, apart from the body of Saint Marinus there was also a stone recess said to have been Marinus' bed. A projecting piece of stone had served as a pillow. Anyone suffering back pain could lie in this recess and would thus be healed.[41]

In Rimini Paolucci had visited, among other things, the church of San Giuliano. Venerated here was the body of the church's eponymous saint, a martyr from the Balkans who had drifted tomb and all across the waves of the Adriatic Sea to the beach at Rimini.[42] According to hagiographical tradition, as a youth Saint Julian had undergone the Roman execution of the *culleus*: he had been tied in a sack together with animals and cast into the water. In his martyrological treatise Gallonio had therefore staged Julian as an example of this type of execution, even though his sack had contained snakes only and lacked the dog, the cock and the monkey.[43]

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39 Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, II, 1286.

40 'Illustrissimo e Reverendo Padre mio osservatissimo. Per sua consolatione le mando queste memorie, che in viaggio hò così notate', BibVal Ms. H.3 f. 15ro.

41 'Dentro à S. Marino c'è il corpo di detto santo, […] dentro però la chiesa una fossa, che dicono era il suo letto, et da capo il sasso è alquanto rilevato, che serviva per guanciale. Diccono, che chi patisce di dolore di schiena hà giovamento entrandovi dentro', BibVal Ms. H.3 f. 16ro.

42 'Nella Chiesa di S. Giuliano vi è il sepolcro del Santo Giuliano quale venne à galleggiare sul mare con quattro facole accese e si fermò al Lido di Rimino e fù condotto à quella chiesa da doi bovi, et orationi di Cento Monachi, se ben in nissun modo s'era potuto movere. […] la sua testa ha un pezzo con la cotica e pelo rosso, et i denti sono piccoli denotanti la sua gioventù, et essere ancora il sacco col quale fù gettato in mare.' BibVal Ms. H.3 f. 17ro.

43 'In differenti maniere furono i nostri Martiri precipitati ne'fiumi: […] Giuliano serrato in un sacco in compagnia di molti serpenti; […] Intorno à che si debbe avvertire essere stato, il culeo presso gli antichi un sacco grande di cuoio, in cui con un cane, gallo, serpente, e scimia si cucivano […] e si sommergevano, in questo modo serrati, nell'acque, […]; dirò solo, che non penso esser necessario affermare, che dentro il culeo si cucissero sempre tutti quegli animali, che sono stati da noi nominati nel principio di questo

Paolucci reported that the sack had been preserved. This object was then of the same category as the *ungula* in the Vatican; it was to be venerated (perhaps also to be touched and kissed), and then to be related to specific elements of the textual hagiographical tradition, in this case the execution of Julian.

Because of its small teeth, the head in the church in Rimini was recognizable as that of the youthful Julian. In this way it gained a more complex function than that of the small bone from the body of Eutitius that Abbot Crescenzi had had mounted in crystal, or the body of Nicola Pellegrino which had been the object of veneration in Trani since the eleventh century. The head with the small teeth served not only to recall the memory of the saint to its viewer; the size of the teeth was a physical characteristic of this relic that served to confirm the identity of Saint Julian. The relic became a historical source. This was important to Gallonio because the writers of hagiographical texts could no longer simply make do with the identity of locally kept objects and facts from historical traditions. A critical mind was necessary to be able to write credible texts. In any case, there was cause for suspicion with relation to Julian. Paolucci had met a monk who was engaged in writing a *vita* of the saint. The monk was in doubt as to what Paolucci had heard about this saint. Paolucci asked Gallonio for more information.[44] Texts and relics thus constituted evidence for the historical authenticity of the lives of saints and of subsequent cults, even if they sometimes contradicted and invalidated each other.

Even if Gallonio's collection consisted almost exclusively of texts, different from the collections of artificial and natural objects such as those established by Orsini, Chacón, Mercati or Aldrovandi, this distinction was less sharp than it would seem nowadays.[45] What matters is that the

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avvertimento,' Antonio Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio* (Rome: A. and G. Donangeli, 1591) 139–140. In the Latin edition Gallonio mentions Saint Julian only in general terms as a victim thrown 'into a hole in the ground, into running water, into a well or into a chalk oven': idem, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus liber* (Rome: Tipografia della Congregazione dell'Oratorio, 1594) 217. For the discussion of the *culeus* in the Latin edition, see § 3.3.

[44] 'E perche un Monaco di S. Giorgio in Alega, che sta al Convento di S. Giuliano in Rimino, dov'è il corpo di detto Santo, scrive la sua vita, e dubita di quanto ella vedrà dall'inclusa nota, supplico à rispondere, se può sapere cosa alcuna.' BibVal Ms. H.3 f. 15ro. The 'inclusa nota' is the list of relics that Paolucci encountered on his journey.

[45] Peter Burke mentions Gallonio together with Orsini and Chacón in the article in which he contends that in the course of the sixteenth century objects and images in themselves started to serve as sources of information for the first time without the interposition of texts (see § 1.2): Peter Burke, 'Images as Evidence in Seventeenth-Century Europe', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64 (2003) 273–296 (280–282).

texts in Gallonio's collection brought the saints to life. A saint could be effectively represented by a relic, and a relic in turn by an illustration or description, much like graphic or verbal representations could serve as substitutes for antiquities or natural objects.

The fluidity of categories worked in two directions: just like the ecclesiastical interest in saints' lives and cults occasionally elicited not only veneration but also critical analysis of material traces, conversely scholars of antiquities and nature might incorporate devotional elements into their scholarly discourse. Such was the case with the bladder stones of Pius V; being regarded as a sign of the pope's heroic capacity for enduring physical torment, they were celebrated by the Oratorian Tommaso Bozio but also studied for their material properties by Michele Mercati.

Bozio introduced the affliction of Pius V in *De signis ecclesiae Dei*, in the chapter on Catholic *patientia*, endurance. In contrast to the heretic Calvin, for example, who had cried out in pain on his deathbed, the pope had welcomed the pain that his bladder stones caused him.[46] Pius V enjoyed a reputation of saintliness, and in 1588 Sixtus V had his mortal remains transferred to the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore in a reinterment that came close to that of the *translatio* ceremony for the relics of a saint. Nevertheless, the pope was not declared a saint until 1712, so Bozio could not include the stones that had tormented Pius among the signs of sanctity, even if he had wanted to.[47] Instead, Bozio classified the stolidity with which Pius V had undergone his affliction among the signs of endurance, together with the courage shown by Balthasar Gerards and Antonio Bragadin (see § 5.2).

The three bladder stones that became fatal for Pius V were also observed, illustrated and described by his physician Michele Mercati in his major mineralogical study that he completed but just failed to see through the press before his death in 1593 (Fig. 6a). Mercati, too, points out the endurance and steadfastness with which the pope had endured this extremely

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[46] 'Calvinum […], qui extremis vitae horis […], haud cessavit blasphemiis cuncta replere, […]: exemplo dices Pii quinti, qui cum saevissimis calculi doloribus angeretur, illud identidem repetebat: *Domine auge ad dolorem, dummodò augeas ad patientiam*.' Tommaso Bozio, *De signis ecclesiae Dei* (Cologne: J. Gymnich, 1592–1593) I, 843.

[47] Simona Feci, 'Pio V, santo' in: *Enciclopedia dei Papi* III *Innocenzo VIII-Giovanni Paolo II* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1986) 160–180 (178). For the reinterment: Pietro Galesini, *Translatio corporis Pii Papae Quinti beatae memoriae* (Rome: Typographia Vaticana, 1588) 58–64. Minou Schraven has pointed out the analogy with the *translatio* ceremonies such as those introduced by Carlo Borromeo in Milan: Minou Schraven, *Festive Funerals in Early Modern Italy. The Art and Culture of Conspicuous Commemoration* (Ashgate: Aldershot, forthcoming).

Fig. 6a. Anton Eisenhoit, *Bladder stones of Pius V*, engraving from: Michele Mercati, *Metallotheca Vaticana*, ed. Giovanni Maria Lancisi (Rome: G.M. Salvioni, 1717) 177 (courtesy of Bijzondere Collecties, Universiteit van Amsterdam, AB 207:29).

painful episode.[48] The Oratorian Bozio classified the pope's bladder stones among the signs of the Church, but the physician Mercati ranged them among the minerals that were impossible to classify into known categories. This goes to show that as the clerical scrutiny of devotional

[48] 'Hos tres calculos appinximus [...]. Hi olim intrà vesicam Pii V. Pontificis Maximi reperti fuerunt [...] Difficillimae huius curationis nos quoque pars aliqua fuimus, patientiae, & invicti illius animi, cùm acerbissimis doloribus afficeretur, testes; quippe qui ei graviter aegroto noctu, atque interdiu pervigiles semper adfuimus.' Michele Mercati, *Metallotheca Vaticana*, ed. Giovanni Maria Lancisi (Rome: G.M. Salvioni, 1717) 177.

objects developed a critical dimension, the consideration of such objects began to overlap with other spheres of activity. This was the case in the discussion about the mechanics of the wooden horse, and also in the interpretation of concrete objects, such as a leather sack, the teeth of a saint, or the bladder stones of the pope.

With his hagiographical work, Gallonio thus entered a wider culture of collectors. Words may have had preeminence in his collection, with visual and material sources being reported in an indirect, mediated way via the verbal testimony of people he trusted. Nonetheless, the indiscriminate collecting of sometimes disparate sources of information, assisted by a large and intricate network of colleagues in order to assemble as many *sanctimonialia* as possible, connected Gallonio to other collectors. His goal was a collection of all the possible textual, visual and material testimonies of sainthood that were mutually confirmative and that he could classify and present as a meaningful whole.[49]

6.2 *Classification*

Gallonio always tried to consistently classify the elements of his collection in both his publications and unpublished works. The criteria for this classification were not inspired by devotional associations or by a symbolic hierarchy of subjects, but rather by logical structures such as chronology, liturgy or mechanical activity. Gallonio endeavored to make most works that he compiled on the basis of his hagiographical collection logically coherent.

Systematic Classification

Two famous saintly virgins whom Gallonio dealt with were Praxedis and Pudentiana, known for having assisted in the burial of the bodies of the martyrs in Rome and for having soaked up the martyrs' blood with a sponge. Their life stories confronted him with a problem. Their father Pudens had given shelter to the Apostle Peter in the year 44. As Praxedis and Pudentiana died over a century later in 163 or 164, they appeared to have lived to be more than one hundred years old. Gallonio believed this

[49] Paula Findlen, 'The museum: its classical etymology and Renaissance genealogy', *Journal of the History of Collections* 1 (1989) 59–78 (65–66).

to be unlikely because such old women would not have been in a state to travel around Rome with a sponge or assist in burying bodies. He suggested three possible solutions: the house where the Apostle had stayed was named after Pudens at a later date, the latter having being born long after the Apostle's death; Pudens had been very young at the time of the Apostles and his daughters had been born when he was quite old; or there had been two different men called Pudens. He preferred this last solution, referring to Aristotle's theory in the fourth book of *Physica* that the explanation that solves problems in the simplest way is the closest to the truth.[50] For want of tangible historical data Gallonio had recourse to Aristotelian logic to solve apparent inconsistencies.

Petronilla, known as the 'daughter' of Saint Peter, posed a similar problem. According to Gallonio, if she had been a biological daughter of Peter rather than a spiritual daughter, she would have been over fifty-three when she underwent martyrdom. This struck the Oratorian as implausible, since shortly before her death the nobleman Flaccus had fallen in love with her. That Flaccus would have been infatuated with an elderly woman was regarded as a contradiction by Gallonio, 'to use a term of the schools'. With his reference to the *schole* Gallonio once again appealed to the scholastic tradition of mastering Aristotelian logic.[51]

By referring to Aristotelian philosophy, Gallonio tried to create an impression of logical rigor. It would be exaggerated to charge the Oratorian with philosophical pretensions—after all, in the sixteenth century works of Aristotle were read in many contexts, in many different forms, and at different levels of refinement, that catered to a broad range of educational and social levels—but Gallonio did suggest with such phrases that his argumentation rested upon a solid foundation of logic.[52]

While we have little specific information about Gallonio's education, we know it must have been in the field of philosophy and theology (see

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[50] 'E questo è quanto per hora mi è piaciuto dire, lasciando all'arbitrio del lettore l'eleggersi qual di queste risposte più gli parerà conforme al vero; se bene à me piace assai dire, che sieno stati due Pudenti, massime perche, secondo, che dice Aristotele nel 4. della sua Fisica, quella opinione s'accosta più al vero, per la quale si possono con facilità sciogliere le difficultà, che intorno ad essa occorrono: dunque, &c.' Gallonio, *Historia delle sante vergini romane*, 80.

[51] 'che implichi (per servirmi de'termini delle schole) contradittione, l'esser fanciulla, straordinariamente bella, & esser di età di 63. anni.' Gallonio, *Historia delle sante vergini romane*, 103.

[52] Charles B. Schmitt, *Aristotle and the Renaissance* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983) 34–63.

§ 1.4). This background is manifest in the taut structure that he generally gave his hagiographical works. With the exception of the *Historia della vergine Helena di Casa Massimi*, all Gallonio's writings are logically structured and proceed according to a rigid scheme. The information is assembled in chronological units or thematic chapters. In the martyrological treatise the author includes references to the internal structure of the text; he introduces chapters as if they are part of a logical sequence of subjects, and within chapters he numbers the items discussed, dealing with them one by one—although he regularly strays from this plan. In both editions of the *Vita* of Neri Gallonio consistently follows an annalistic structure. The little tract 'De his quae praestari possunt nondum canonizatis' has a rigidly scholastic set-up. Gallonio subdivides it into questions, each of them with a provisional negative answer, followed by a refutation of the negative answer, resulting in a confirmative conclusion.

In the treatise of martyrdom, Gallonio took his businesslike way of working to great lengths. We may compare his study of martyrdom with similar publications by Justus Lipsius and Jacob Gretser, each of whom wrote treatises about crucifixion (see § 5.3). Jeanine De Landtsheer has compared these treatises by Lipsius and Gretser. She characterized Lipsius' treatise as an objective antiquarian work. The Flemish scholar refrained from devotional admonitions to his readers and treated crucifixion soberly as a category of execution, substantiating his reconstructions with numerous quotations from pagan literature. Gretser's book, on the other hand, was a polemical theological work, which evoked the affective response to the one, unique crucifixion of Jesus Christ, citing exclusively ecclesiastical authors.[53] Gallonio's martyrological treatise stands midway between the two. As we saw in chapter 2, Gallonio combined martyrological sources and pagan literature, and approached the methods of torture as general phenomena, much like Lipsius. He reconstructed categories of torture by tacking together quotations from his sources. His sober procedure contrasts with the highly charged subject matter of martyrdom. This should make us cautious about presuming that Lipsius meant *De cruce* to be a work of 'objective antiquarianism', without polemical intent. Gallonio's sterile categorizing certainly was not objective, but aimed at exposing the depravity of the persecutors.

[53] Jeanine de Landtsheer, 'Justus Lipsius' *De cruce* and the reception of the Fathers', *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch* 2 (2000) 97–122 (116–118).

This procedure led to what amounts to a 'taxonomy of tortures'. Gallonio classifies the major types of torture (stretching, beating, ripping open, burning and scorching) in chapters three to six as separate categories, each in turn subdivided into subcategories.[54] For example, in the category of instruments with which to beat, Gallonio distinguishes between the subcategories of thongs, sticks, staves, rods, *scorpiones* (thorny branches), *nervi* (whips) and *plumbatae* (scourges with leaden balls on the extremity). Gallonio discusses the subcategories one by one.[55] Incidentally, he is not completely consistent. The chapter ends with passages about striking with the hands (fists, open hand) and stoning, ways of beating that he does not name in the introduction.[56] Furthermore, on a number of occasions in the Latin version he deviates to subjects that do not appear to belong in the systematic elaboration of the subcategories. He describes the punishments inflicted on Roman soldiers (including fines) and he discusses the function of the *lictor*, the Roman functionary that executed judicial sentences.[57]

Nevertheless, Gallonio carried his taxonomy a long way. The subdivisions of instruments with which to beat, for instance, were further subdivided according to the materials from which they were fabricated. The result was a tiered classification which depended on a variety of technical specifications such as functionality (striking, tearing or burning), but also the material out of which the instruments were made (wood, metal, etc.). The rods, together with the *scorpiones*, consisted usually of (wooden) branches. However, in some instances they were made of steel; these could be held in a fire before being used to strike victims. If they were made of wood, they could be smooth, or knotty. The smooth wooden rods were made from the wood of various sorts of trees: elm, birch, willow, oak or ash. If they were thorny and knotty, then they were defined as a *scorpio*, scorpion. The complex taxonomy of the rod was reason enough to recapitulate everything at the end of the paragraph concerned, which can be represented in a diagram as follows:

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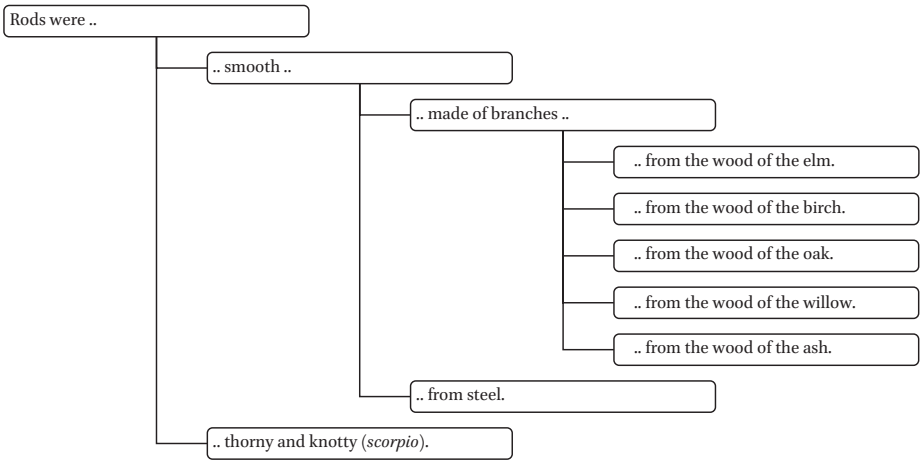
[54] Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio*, 42–79; idem, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, 97–149.

[55] 'staffili', 'flagri', 'bastoni', 'verghe', 'scorpioni', 'nervi' and 'piombate', Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio*, 42–61; 'lora', 'flagra', 'fustes', 'virgae', 'scorpiones', 'nervi' and 'plumbatae', idem, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, 97–127.

[56] Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio*, 50–52; idem, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, 117–122.

[57] Ibid., 100–105, 115–116.


Rods were ..
.. smooth ..
.. made of branches ..
.. from the wood of the elm.
.. from the wood of the birch.
.. from the wood of the oak.
.. from the wood of the willow.
.. from the wood of the ash.
.. from steel.
.. thorny and knotty (*scorpio*).

Anthologies of antiquarian and natural historical subjects often had a comparably refined division in categories and subcategories. Like Gallonio, collectors of *naturalia* and *artificialia* often were inconsistent in applying their criteria for classification. Michele Mercati, in his work on minerals, employed main categories that included not only salts, alum, and marine minerals, for example, but also 'stones that grow within animate beings' and 'stones with a peculiar shape'. Yet he also stated expressly that all stones grown within animate beings had a peculiar shape rather than being shapeless like earth, implying that for the sake of consistency he really should have treated them as a subcategory of 'stones with a peculiar shape'.[58]

Excursions into themes that, according to the logic of classification, seem to be out of place, were not unusual either, in antiquarian nor natural history studies. Someone such as Ulisse Aldrovandi meandered in his zoological descriptions from the anatomy of the animals, via animals' appearances in mythological stories, to their use in heraldic images. Etymology, adages and mythological representations were no less relevant to the description of natural phenomena than anatomy, structure or

[58] Chapter 8, 'Lapides Animalibus Innati', begins: 'Distinctis in plura genera lapidibus, quorum alios terrae similes, nullaque figura, alios certa aliqua figura praeditos esse, quos *ἰδιομόρφους* Graeci vocant, supra diximus, ac quidem rursus horum aliquos intrà ipsa nasci animalia, aliquos intus à terra contineri; nunc de illis lapidibus qui innati animantium corporibus figuram aliquam habent, in hac parte disseremus, quos natura varietatis, ac differentiae causa in diversis diversorum animalium partibus generavit.' Mercati, *Metallotheca*, 171.

behavior.[59] Gallonio likewise often strayed from his classificatory scheme and ended up on sidetracks that, according to his own mechanical classification criteria, appear to be out of place.

Gallonio gathered most of the information for his taxonomy of the rod from various source texts. As usual, the acknowledgement of his sources in the Latin version is more complete than in the Italian version. He consulted an entire series of passages from comedies by Plautus as sources for the use of elm for the fabrication of rods. Pliny mentioned rods made of beech in his *Historia Naturalis*. Gallonio found a reference to the use of willow in the hymn for Saint Romanus by Prudentius. For the wood from the oak and the ash he referred to the acts of the martyrs Agathius and Alexander respectively. The classification is not simply the result of the slavish cutting and pasting of ancient texts. Gallonio added to the range of materials from which the *scorpio* could be fabricated yet another type of wood that ancient literature failed to associate with the term *scorpio*: pomegranate. He observed that some hagiographical texts reported a martyr to have been flogged with the green, thorny branch of the pomegranate tree. He concluded that such branches were to be classified as *scorpiones*. The Oratorian thus completed the taxonomy of instruments for beating not merely by copying definitions found in the ancient source texts, but by creatively employing his own logic.[60]

A similar effort to do justice to all possible source fragments in the classification was also carried out by Girolamo Mercuriale in his book about physical exercise. His main classification consisted of 'exercises per se' and 'exercises that imitate movements in other contexts'. The 'exercises per se' included exercises in agility or strength and fitness training. The exercises in agility encompassed jumping, war dances and ball games (*ludus pilae* or *sphaeristica*). According to Mercuriale, the Latin language made a distinction between the large inflated ball (*follis*), the small ball with which players juggled (*trigonalis*), the heavy, feather-filled ball (*paganica*) and the football (*harpastum*).[61] One source, however, deviated from this scheme;

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[59] William B. Ashworth Jr., 'Natural history and the emblematic world view' in: David C. Lindberg and Robert S. Westman eds., *Reappraisals of the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) 303–332; Michel Foucault, *Les mots et les choses: une archéologie des sciences humaines* (Paris: Gallimard, 1966) 40–57.

[60] Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio*, 45–47; idem, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, 105–107.

[61] Girolamo Mercuriale, *De arte gymnastica libri sex* (Venice: Giunti, 1573) 82–131. The main categories are '[gymnastica] quae motus hominum a seipsis [factos speculatur]' and '[gymnastica] quae [motus] hominum ab aliis factos speculatur'.

one of the epigrams of Martial put the *pila*, the *follis*, the *paganica* and the *harpastum* on a par, while, according to Martial, *pila* (ball) was an umbrella term that covered the other three types. He decided that since the *trigonalis* was missing from Martials' poem, *pila* could also sometimes denote the subcategory of the *trigonalis*.[62]

Gallonio thus shared common ground with Mercuriale and Mercati in that all of them went to great pains to get their detailed classifications to fit the phenomena that they studied. Mercuriale's taxonomy according to *genera* and *species* has been attributed by Ingo Herklotz to his Aristotelian medical training.[63] Gallonio's emphasis on classification would also have been based on the principles of Aristotle, although in his case he would not have received much by way of specific medical schooling. Gallonio and Mercuriale were each confronted by the intractable reality of sources of information that sometimes contradicted one another and were difficult to place in a comprehensive system.

Gallonio implied that distinguishing the levels of classification was necessary to achieve an exact identification of the instruments of torture. For example, confusion between *lampades* (oblong fire trumpets), and *faces* (torches), was due to the failure to get beyond the level of *genus* to which these objects belonged: instruments with which to burn. It required recognition of the subcategories of this *genus* to arrive at a proper identification.[64] In other words, Gallonio suggested that the potential of his martyrological classification went beyond mere mnemonics. He presented it as a cognitive tool to effect precision in martyrological terminology.

Tangible Objects in Classification

For the reconstruction of the *lampades*, the fire trumpets, Gallonio turned to an unusual material source. He asserted that the Romans had put holders for flammable material, in the form of a pyramid, inside the wooden fire trumpets to prevent them from catching fire. These holders could

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[62] 'Si enim sola quattuor pilae genera facimus, necessario cum ceterae nominentur, Trigonalis sub pila simplici complectetur', ibid., 91.

[63] Herklotz, *Cassiano dal Pozzo*, 217.

[64] 'Sermo fit de lampadibus ardentibus (quas quidam, quia genus earum tantummodo considerant, cum facibus confundunt) in sanctorum martyrum Actis,' Gallonio, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, 142–143. In the Italian version the same warning not to confuse the levels of categorization follows at the end of the section on *lampas* in an *avvertimento*: 'Confondono alle volte alcuni scrittori le lampadi con le faci, chiamandole faci, e non lampadi: il che s'è cagionato, perche havendo questi tali havuto solamente riguardo al genere loro, l'hanno cosi nominate.' Idem, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio*, 73.

have been made of terracotta, examples of which he claimed were regularly found in the ruins of Rome: they 'are sometimes dug up in the ruins of this city'. Alternatively they were also fabricated in steel, as he understood from *De re rustica* by Lucius Columella.[65] The terracotta holders that supposedly turned up frequently amidst the debris of the ancient city served Gallonio not merely to illustrate a conclusion based on textual sources, but actually constituted an argument on which he could build his reconstruction of the *lampas*. He appealed to them to refute the possibility that the 'fire basket' was actually a sort of torch; after all, with a taper or a wax candle in it the wooden trumpet would catch fire, whereas with a fireproof holder the wood would be unaffected.

The terracotta holders were material antiquities of the same type as the cooking pots and pans mentioned earlier. They were not unique, identifiable sculptures or architectural elements, but objects from daily life that appeared frequently and were interchangeable. The way in which Gallonio presented the earthenware pyramids was completely in accordance with the 'de-historization' of the texts that he brought about in the treatise of martyrdom. They had become repeating elements of a category that was not fixed chronologically.[66]

At the end of the sixteenth century this was not a customary manner of treating material antiquities in scholarly works, though it was by no means unique. In fact Michele Mercati, who discussed flint tools in the category of 'idiomorphic stones' in his mineralogical survey, was one of the few scholars who attentively studied undistinguished implements and utensils even though they did not represent an aesthetic value or elucidate literary history.[67] He was, incidentally, not the only one. Mercuriale, for example, in his book about ancient physical exercises, used a concrete archaeological find to support the classification of *strigiles*, scrapers that were used to remove dirt and sweat when bathing. Mercuriale lists the materials that *strigiles* were made of: steel, gold, silver, horn, ivory or bronze. Examples

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[65] 'Erano esse dunque, considerate le antiche, alcuni vasi fatti quasi à piramide, stretti nel fondo, e larghi da capo, di terra cotta, come fanno fede quelle che dalle ruine di Roma alle volte si cavano; ò di ferro, come Columella nel lib. 12. al 18. accenna,' ibid., 72; 'Erant autem vasa vel terrea, sicuti indicant illa quae ex ruinis huiusce urbis nonnumquam eruuntur; vel ferrea, veluti Columella innuit lib. 12. cap. 18.' Idem, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, 143.

[66] Jetze Touber, 'Baronio e Gallonio: le fonti per il sapere martirologico' in: Luigi Gulia ed., *Baronio e le sue fonti: atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Sora, 10–13 ottobre 2007* (Sora: Centro di studi sorani, 2009) 391–409.

[67] See § 2.3.

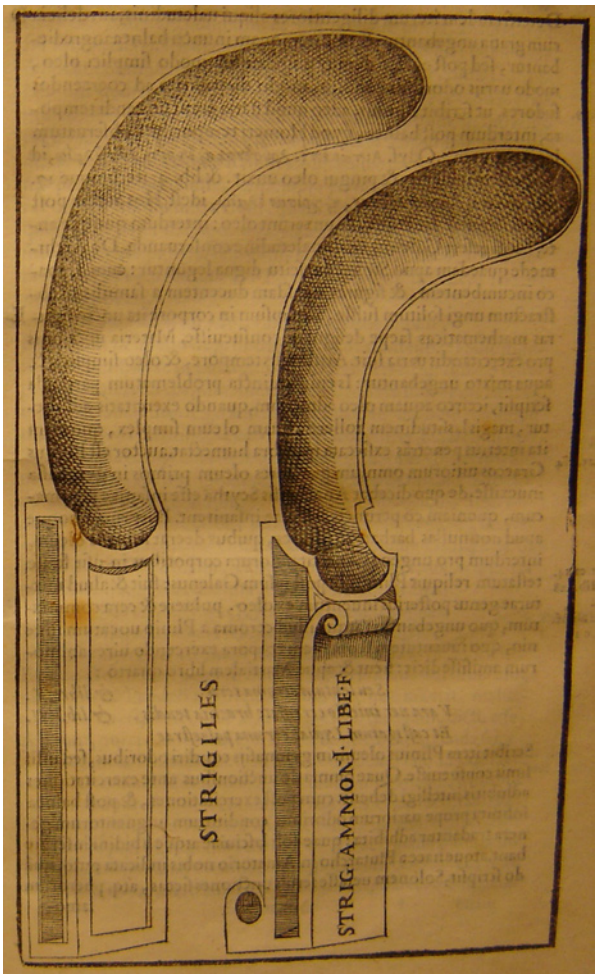

Fig. 6b. Pirro Ligorio, *Strigiles*, engraving from: Girolamo Mercuriale, *De arte gymnastica libri sex* (Venice: Giunti, 1573) 18 [i.e. 31].

made of this last material were found under Trajan's Baths (on the Colle Oppio, near the Colosseum). Mercuriale had an engraving of these made by Pirro Ligorio (Fig. 6b).[68] Like Gallonio's terracotta holders and Mercati's

[68] 'Ferrei autem erant, vel aurei, vel argentei, vel cornei, vel eburnei, vel aerei, quibus strigmenta, & sordes exercitatorum a corporibus radebantur. Aerei strigiles erant quorum pictura hic ponitur, quive olim inter Traiani Imperatoris thermarum ruinas inventi sunt.' Mercuriale, *De arte gymnastica*, 30.

flint tools, these bronze scrapers were commonplace objects that could turn up in considerable numbers. Their value as sources of historical information did not lie in any unique inscription or depiction, but in formal and material characteristics shared by all specimens.

Chacón, the Dominican who had books published about the martyrs of Cardeña and ancient military technology, was also interested in implements and utensils, their function and their form. While in his book about the Roman army he drew on sculpted reliefs, a unique iconographic source, rather than interchangeable weapons and other military materiel, he did use those reliefs to reconstruct general types of objects such as pieces of armaments, weaponry and means of military transport.[69] Significantly, in a manuscript that had belonged to him which is a mishmash of antiquarian excerpts and drawings, two amphorae are portrayed between a large number of reliefs, coins, medals and busts. The accompanying legend concerns the variants in which such amphorae were to be found and contain a remark that reminds us of Gallonio discussing his pots and pans and terracotta holders: they 'are excavated daily in infinite numbers in Rome.'[70] Besides informing chronology and aesthetics, antiquarian scholarship in Italy in this period was also dedicated, albeit to a limited extent, to the original functionality of antiquities, the ways in which the objects had been employed in their historical contexts. This propensity for analyzing the characteristics of categories of utensils was shared by collectors of *artificialia, naturalia* and *sanctimonialia* alike.

Gallonio was not the only one within the Oratory to devote attention to the material and functional characteristics of objects and phenomena that appeared in historical literature. Baronio, for example, in the *Annales ecclesiastici*, discusses in detail what the significance was of the 'wine with myrrh' that, according to the Gospel of Saint Mark, Christ had been given while carrying the cross up Mount Calvary. An important issue was whether this drink, which Christ turned down, had been a bitter concoction of wine and gall or rather a sweet and aromatic mixture. In other words: had Christ refused to accept another torment, or quite

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69 Herklotz, *Cassiano dal Pozzo*, 222–225.

70 'Amphoram, quam antiqui quadrantal vocabant teste Festo, qui vult utrinque ansatam fuisse a nomine, fistileo, oblongam collo, subtus acutam. Quales infinitae indies Romae effodiuntur passim.' The observation is followed by two drawings: on the left a tall, slender amphora with handles, that ends below in a point; on the right, a round vessel without handles. BibAng Ms. 1564 f. 51vo. For this manuscript, compiled by Chacón: C. Schuddeboom, *Philips van Winghe (1560–1592) en het ontstaan van de christelijke archeologie* (Groningen: s.n., 1996) 100–106.

the contrary, had he refused comfort for his pain? Baronio received help with this question from Mercati, who sent him from his own collection of minerals a sample of myrrh from an Indian tree. The Oratorian tasted it himself, and was able to establish that it had a fine, sweet taste. Christ had thus refused alleviation from his agony instead of shying away from a drink that would have increased his suffering.[71] In this way, material collected in the context of natural historical research provided an experience that enriched the understanding of an evangelical text. Knowledge about nature and knowledge about culture had the same textual basis, so that supplementary information, obtained from empirical observations, could contribute to both sorts of knowledge without insurmountable methodological barriers.

Gallonio was surrounded by scholars who described and categorized tangible phenomena, basing themselves on textual traditions, while continually supplementing and comparing them with their own observations. Many were occupied with more or less marvellous natural phenomena. Exceptional phenomena caught the attention of researchers and at times presented them with dilemmas. In chapter 4 we saw how Cesalpino, Vittori and Porti, in their competence as men of medicine, endeavored to demarcate the categories of the supernatural and the natural. Yet there were countless phenomena that seemed to defy such demarcation, since they could not be ascribed to the direct intervention of God, but did not exactly fit in with the order of nature either. These were *praeternatural* phenomena, beyond or outside nature. *Praeternaturalia* did not fit into the Aristotelian schemes of causality. Their study demanded a methodology in which the observation, description and subsequent classification of the individual characteristics weighed heavier than the application of general natural philosophical principles.[72]

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[71] 'Sed feliciter occurrit nobis D. Michaël Mercatus Miniatensis S.D.N. intimus familiaris, celebris aetate nostra Philosophus, rerum naturalium excultissimus [...] [Q]uin potius ipsam materiam ex myrrhae arbore incisam fluentem in massam coagmentari tradit; coloribusque ad speciem inductis, artem inde potoria fingere, quae in summis Populi Romani deliciis essent. [...] [T]alem phialam ex India per Lusitanos advectam, donoque sibi datam promebat ex sua Metallothèca Vaticana, [...] Sapor quoque idem videtur: vinum enim in ea phiala (quod nos experiri voluimus) magnam haurienti cum odore simul gratiam saporis exhibet.' Cesare Baronio, *Annales ecclesiastici* (Rome: Typographia Vaticana, 1588–1607) I, 174. This relates to the biblical passage 'et dabant ei bibere myrratum vinum et non accepit', Mark 15:23.

[72] Eric Jorink, *Reading the Book of Nature in the Dutch Golden Age, 1575–1715*, transl. Peter Mason (Leiden: Brill, 2010); R.J.W. Evans ed., *Curiosity and Wonder from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); Nancy G. Siraisi, 'Anatomizing the past:

It was precisely among the water sources and waterways that Giovanni Battista Modio and Andrea Bacci studied, or the 'idiomorphic minerals' in Mercati's *Metallotheca*, that such unique, *praeternatural* phenomena abounded.[73] For example, Bacci, in his treatise about the culture of bathing, had collected all the relevant knowledge about geology, water management and hygiene, to a great extent on the basis of literature, while also including some empirical data. He stated that he had not set them up geographically, but systematically, into *genera*. According to him this was more *scientificus*, in the Aristotelian sense of the word *scientia*, 'systematic'.[74] In the same way, the categorization of martyrological information in Gallonio's treatise of martyrdom was *scientificus*. He followed the example of the scholars around him, such as Bacci, Mercati and Mercuriale, who tried exhaustively to document and to categorize natural phenomena and antiquities with their own individual characteristics. The obvious course for him was to process his *sanctimonialia* in the same way in the treatise of martyrdom.

Analogous to the generic utensils from the ruins of Rome that Gallonio appropriated among his *sanctimonialia*, there were other objects that the scholarly culture around him simultaneously studied and venerated as emblems of sainthood. Significant examples of this are the stones that formed in the bodies of saints. Stones that grew in the body, grouped among the 'idiomorphic stones' by the mineral collector Mercati, were often looked upon as *praeternaturalia*. We saw that Mercati included the bladder stones of Pius V among the nobler kinds of stones that grew in living beings. He compares the color of the bladder stones with that of the *bezoars*, the stones found in the stomachs of ruminants, which traditionally were seen as a miraculous remedy for all possible diseases. Mercati

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physicians and history in Renaissance culture', *Renaissance Quarterly* 53 (2000) 1–30; Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750* (New York: Zone Books, 1998) 135–158; Paula Findlen, 'Jokes of Nature and Jokes of Knowledge: The Playfulness of Scientific Discourse in Early Modern Europe', *Rennaissance Quarterly* 43 (1990) 292–331. In the 1980s Arnaldo Momigliano discussed the relationship between medicine and historiography in Antiquity in a short essay, in which he also mentioned the recording of facts in individual cases as being an important point in common between doctors and historians: Arnaldo Momigliano, 'La storia tra medicina e retorica' in: idem, *Tra storia e storicismo* (Pisa: Nistri-Lischi, 1985) 1–24 (11–13).

[73] Ian Maclean, *Logic, Signs and Nature in the Renaissance. The Case of Learned Medicine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 253–254, 269–271; Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*, 135–158.

[74] Nancy G. Siraisi, '*Historiae*, natural history, Roman Antiquity, and some Roman physicians' in: Gianna Pomata and Nancy G. Siraisi eds., *Historia: Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2005) 325–354 (338–339).

also remarks that the pope's bladder stones were all precisely the same size, something that is also apparent from the accompanying illustration (Fig. 6a).[75] With this he suggests that the stones from the bladder of the pope were comparable to some of the items discovered in the body of the medieval Chiara da Montefalco. Physicians had found three small stones in her gallbladder, positioned in the form of a triangle. It made no difference whether a single stone was weighed, or two, or all three at the same time—the scale always indicated one ounce. In the fourteenth century the miraculous physical similarity of the three gallstones was explicitly pointed out as a sign of the Holy Trinity, and both Isidoro Mosconio and Iacopo Alberici still described it as such in the *vitae* that they published in the decade after 1600.[76]

The small stones that Realdo Colombo had observed in Ignatius Loyola's liver after his death were also transformed by some Jesuits into a sign of the Holy Trinity (see § 4.3). In the report of the autopsy of Ignatius, the anatomist Colombo mentioned 'an almost innumerable number of stones, found in the kidneys, in the lungs, in the liver, in the *vena porta*'. Ignatius' secretary Polanco, when describing the stones in the liver of his deceased mentor as the result of his ascesis, specified that *three* small stones had been found in the liver. Giovanni Pietro Maffei

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[75] 'Hos tres calculos [...] eadem prorsus inter se, qua hìc monstrantur, magnitudine, propter coloris similitudinem, qua proximè ad lapides bezoarios accedunt, licèt maculae in medio, gypsi, aut tophi instar, ac durities ipsa eos ab ipsis secernant.' Mercati, *Metallotheca*, 177.

[76] 'fellis cistellam, de qua supra meminimus, à caeteris partibus seiunxerunt, ut Berengarius qui his omnibus interfuit, decreverat: hanc ubi duram offendit, medicis imperat, dividique iubet, quare tres rotundi globi solidi, ut cineres colorati inveniuntur imagine, colore, pondere pares, & in ipsa cistella ita dispositi, ut trianguli formam efficerent, à quibus (ut ante mortem retulit Clara) Trinitatis Sacratissimae arcana repraesentantur; siquidem communi consensu fertur, orbiculos ipsos inter se esse aequales, & pares pondere, non modo si separatim quisque accipiatur, verum etiam (quod humanum superat captum) si unus cum duobus, aut unus uni, aut omnes simul apponantur, aequale pondus reperiatur.' Isidoro Mosconio, *Compendium de vita, miraculis et revelationibus beatae Clarae de Cruce Montis Falconis oppidi in Umbria* (Bologna: G. Rossi, 1601) 69–70; 'Fù poi per commissione di detto Reverendissimo Vicario Generale aperta la cestella del fiele tra tredici, che seco havea condotti, & chiamati, & entro vi trovarono tre palle durissime, come incudi, meravigliose, le quali tutte tre poste in una bilancia, & dall'altra un peso verbi gratia un oncia, tutte tre pesavano un'oncia, levatene una, quelle due pesavano un'oncia, levatene due, la sola pesava un'oncia, una sola posta in una bilancia, contro un'altra sola pesava come l'altra, & due pesate contre la terza, pesavano tanto come quella sola, che adombrano il misterio della Santissima Trinità, nel quale vi è la distintione delle Divine persone, & l'equalità della maestà, & non è maggiore, ne più antiqua una persona dell'altra.' Iacopo Alberici, *Vita, e miracoli della B. Chiara detta Della Croce da Montefalco dell'Ordine Eremitano di Sant'Agostino* (Rome: G.B. Robletti, 1610) 97.

went even further and stated in his *vita* of Ignatius that Colombo had written in his book on anatomy that he had found *three* stones in the *vena porta* of the saint. This is a clear distortion of the anatomist's account, seeing that Colombo had not specified the number of stones but had mentioned them as being innumerable.[77] In this subtle way, the followers of Ignatius turned the stones that had grown in his body into *sanctimonialia*, referring to the Holy Trinity and thus signifying his exceptional state of divine mercy, without their having given an explicit answer as to whether this was a case of *praeternaturalia* or *miracula*.[78]

We have seen that Bozio grouped the three bladder stones of Pius V under the sign of *patientia*, endurance, rather than sanctity, in view of the fact that the pope did not yet enjoy ecclesiastical veneration. Stones in the bodies of persons who were acknowledged as *beati* made their appearance in a chapter on signs of sanctity, entitled: 'Divine stigmata of saintly bodies'. Bozio had seen the stones from Chiara da Montefalco with his own eyes and he described the miracle of their weight remaining the same.[79] He also records the three stones that were found in the heart of the Dominican Margherita da Città di Castello (1287–1320). The men who had retrieved these stones from her body after her death had seen sacred tableaux depicted on them, but Bozio observed that these had been worn away with the passage of time and were no longer visible.[80] In this way, unglamorous objects were perceived as signs that referred to divine mercy, while they were also objects of study that demanded meticulous

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[77] Colombo writes: 'Lapides autem innumerabiles pene hisce manibus extracti, inventos in renibus, colore vario, in pulmonibus, in iecore, in vena portae', Realdo Colombo, *De Re Anatomica Libri XV* (Venice: N. Bevilacqua, 1559) 266–267. Polanco reports: 'Inspectum etiam fuit hepar, in quo tres inerant lapilli, ejusdem testes abstinentiae, ex qua induratum fuit', in a letter, written shortly after the death of Ignatius Loyola on 31 July 1556, published in: Joannes Baptista Sollerius e.a. eds., *Acta Sanctorum. Julii* VII (Antwerp: J. Du Moulin, 1731) 509–510 (510). Maffei claims: 'Realdus Colombus, egregius ea tempestate sector, qui aperiendo interfuit, in hepatis vena, quae Porta dicitur, lapides tres sese invenisse testatur in suo de Anatomia libro.' Giovanni Pietro Maffei, *Ignatii Loiolae vita qui Societatem Iesu fundavit* (Rome: G. Tornieri, 1587) 118.

[78] Jetze Touber, 'Stones of Passion. Stones in the Internal Organs as Liminal Phenomena between Medical and Religious Knowledge in Renaissance Italy', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 74 (2013) 23–44.

[79] 'Vidi praeterea hisce oculis corpus Clarae virginis è Montefalco [...] Inspexi praeterea tres globulos carneos ex eadem eductos singulos eiusdem ponderis [...] Id est divinissimae Trinitatis insigne illustrissimum.' Bozio, *De signis ecclesiae Dei*, II, 236–237.

[80] 'Margarita Tiphernas fuit è familia sancti Dominici, huic defunctae apertum corpus, visceraque educta, in corde reperti tres pretiosissimi lapides, quibus depictae erant imagines quaedam sacrae, ut Raphael Razius narrat: quamvis illas nunc edax tempus obscurasse videatur.' Ibid., II, 237.

observation in order to be classified correctly. Again, this is analogous to how Gallonio added simple objects such as cooking pots and terracotta vases to his taxonomy of instruments of torture and thus immediately turned them into martyrological signs.

We should bear in mind that Gallonio seems rarely to have studied the objects himself, as did Bozio with the stones discovered in the Umbrian women and as did Baronio with the resin that Mercati put at his disposal. The observation that pots, pans and shards of earthenware regularly turned up in the ruins of Rome did not require personal inspection. He could have been informed by someone else about the form and properties of these antiquities. His description of the steel comb, used to tear the flesh off the bodies of martyrs, certainly suggests this. According to the Oratorian, this 'comb', a term that appeared in the Acts of Martyrs, was a card, a simple implement used to disentangle the fibres of raw wool. This was apparent from ancient portrayals in which Saint Blaise is seen being tortured with such combs. Gallonio did not specify which images he had in mind. He was aware that the images he referred to were a disputable source of information because they did not stem from the period in which most of the martyrs had met their ends. He justified his use of them with an appeal to the opinion of several—unnamed—experts, according to whom the images actually had been created according to ancient models.[81] Even if the priest had seen the images of Blaise, in any event he left it to others to study their appearance and to draw conclusions as to their age.

Although Gallonio attempted to document and process all the variants of torture in a large classification based on functional and material properties, ultimately he worked principally with language. The visual and material sources that he drew on create the impression that he wanted to give martyrology an empirical basis as tangible *sanctimonialia* parallel to the *praeternaturalia* of scholars such as Bacci and Mercati and *antiquitates* of scholars such as Mercuriale and Chacón. On closer consideration much of this appears to be rhetoric.

[81] 'per quanto accennano il nome, e quello per cui si adopravano, & alcuni che nelle imagini di S. Biagio si veggono depinti, i quali se bene non sono antichi di cinquecento, ò mille anni, vengono però secondo il giudicio di persone intendenti dalla forma antica.' Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio*, 65; 'sicut nomen, ususque illorum indicant, & denique quidam qui in pervetustis S. Blasii imaginibus picti cernuntur, a veterum exemplaribus (ut docti viri opinantur) desumpti', idem, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, 135.

6.3 *Presentation*

All the material that Gallonio collected, whether texts about saints or reports about frescoes or earthenware containers, was presented by him in such a way as to drive home the awe and veneration that the saints merited. When Bozio's plans for *De signis ecclesiae Dei* began to take shape in 1589 he described the lives of saints, beginning with those of Christ and the Apostles, as being the most suitable vehicles for divine revelation.[82] These saintly life stories were thus signs that served to point out to believers the importance of having faith in God and of living a good Christian life. Likewise, Gallonio turned the saints' lives and all material relating to them into emblems, images with concise explanations that served to bring fundamental concepts efficiently to the attention of his public. He put these emblems on display as in a museum or on a stage.

The Hagiographical Collection as an Instance of Encyclopaedism

From the preceding chapters it is evident that Gallonio had common ground with different spheres of activity, common ground that could lead to both collaboration and rivalry. Such an overlap is confirmed in the manner in which he presented the material collected. He chose a businesslike and technical style. This was also pointed out in the forewords of his works. In the foreword to the Latin edition of the martyrological treatise, Pierpaolo Crescenzi states that the attraction of the work lies 'not so much in the variety of lofty matters, but rather in their truth'.[83] In the preface to the Latin edition of the *Vita* of Neri, Gallonio characterizes his own style of writing as 'compact, but not obscure'.[84] He explicitly distanced himself from an excessive and over-elegant use of language, for the sake of clarity.

This concise writing style served to show that the information was factually correct. The concluding remarks, the references to sources and the polemics in his various works are symptomatic of the pains to which Gallonio always went to convince his readership of the high degree of veracity of his writings. He constantly impressed upon his readers that

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[82] Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, I, 624–625.

[83] 'ut legentis animum non tam rerum maximarum varietas delectet, quam veritas.' Gallonio, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, +3ro.

[84] 'Stylo usi plerumque sumus presso quidem, sed non obscuro.' Antonio Gallonio, *Vita beati patris Philippi Nerii Florentini Congregationis Oratorii fundatoris in annos digesta* (Rome: L. Zannetti, 1600) a3ro (preface to the reader).

everything he wrote about saintly virgins, instruments of torture and Neri was true. After an elaborate criticism in the third chapter of his martyrs' treatise of Carlo Sigonio's opinion about the *equuleus*, the author once more summarizes the passages that he had already cited on several occasions, in order to conclude that his views about the *equuleus* were 'more certain, more true and more in conformance with ancient texts'.[85]

To reinforce the factuality of his contentions, Gallonio applied a number of representational techniques. He constructed the treatise of martyrdom around detailed quotations.[86] In quoting, fragments of text were removed from their original context and put on display. This effected a similarity between the martyrological treatise and printed catalogues of collections of items. Such catalogues, for example of mineralogical collections, were not so much derivatives but rather continuations of the displays, which made the individual objects accessible for those who could not physically visit the collection. The chapters of the mineralogical compendia of Johannes Kentmann (1518–1574) and Michele Mercati were referred to as 'drawers' or 'cupboards'.[87] In a similar way Gallonio's treatise of martyrdom evoked the testimonies of the martyrs as if they took place on the spot.

Gallonio compiled the texts of both the *Vita* of Neri and the book about the Roman virgins by paraphrasing his source texts: in the first case testimonies in the canonization process, in the second hagiographical manuscripts and publications. Nevertheless, even in these works he put the

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[85] 'consequitur sententiam nostram de equuleo longe aliis & certiorem esse, & veriorem, & antiquorum dictis congruentiorem.' Gallonio, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, 61.

[86] See for Eusebius who provided a model for early modern historians by lavishly interspersing the main text with quotations from the source texts: Anthony Grafton, 'Church History in Early Modern Europe: Tradition and Innovation' in: Katherine van Liere, Simon Ditchfield and Howard Louthan eds., *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) 3–26 (17–18).

[87] Alix Cooper, 'The museum and the book: the Metallotheca and the history of encyclopaedic natural history in early modern Italy', *Journal of the History of Collections* 7 (1995) 1–23 (4); Louis Marin, 'Mimésis et description. Ou de la curiosité à la méthode de l'âge de Montaigne à celui de Descartes' in: Elizabeth Cropper, Giovanna Perini and Francesco Solinas eds., *Documentary Culture: Florence and Rome from Grand-Duke Ferdinand I to Pope Alexander VII: Papers from a Colloquium Held at the Villa Spelman, Florence, 1990* (Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1992) 23–47 (28–29); Olmi, *L'Inventario del mondo*, 173–175. Cfr. Maarten Delbeke, 'An Unknown Description of Baroque Rome: Michelangelo Lualdi's *Galleria Sacra Architettata dalla Pietà Romana Dall'anno 1610 Sino Al 1645*', *Bulletin van het Belgisch Historisch Instituut te Rome* 74 (2004) 61–271 (*passim*, but in particular 69, 74–76). In my opinion Michel Foucault went too far in claiming that in the sixteenth century words and objects were considered as interchangeable, as equipollent signs that refer to one another in perfect reciprocity: Foucault, *Les mots et les choses*, 49–57.

building blocks of his discourse before the mind's eye of his readership as if he were exhibiting a collection of items. In the *Vita* of his deceased mentor he marked individual episodes by adding in the margin the names of the witnesses who had provided him with that information. In his description of the publication about the saintly virgins in his letter of 1591 to Antonio Talpa, the distinction between the object and the description of the object dissolves: 'I have done my best to get all the Roman virgins together, in particular gathered from the ancient manuscripts of ourselves and of others.' The objects of the collection—the virgins themselves—and the texts about the objects—the *historie*—were elements of equal value.[88]

The ordered fashion in which Gallonio displayed his objects of research in the *Historia delle sante vergini romane* becomes clear when it is compared with other anthologies of saintly virgins. For example, his way of working is much more transparent than that of Giovanni Battista Natolini, the author of the *Legendario delle santissime vergini*.[89] Natolini's selection appears to be somewhat haphazard; he followed no criteria such as geographical origins or the membership of a particular order. He put together a limited number of moral examples. He did not account for his source texts, and the life stories of the saintly virgins appear to be excerpts from originals that the author simply strung together.

In the *Historia delle sante vergini romane*, Gallonio assembled a much greater number of biographies than Natolini. The biographies themselves are fluent, short accounts, running chronologically according to a set structure (origins and worldly prospects, choosing Christ and renunciation of the world, ordeals and martyrdom). This is often followed by extensive annotation, in which Gallonio discusses the various sources of his texts and the peregrinations of the relics. In this manner he solves problems, such as the constantly recurring issue of the phenomenon of the numbers of saints bearing the same name. In the case of the various

[88] 'Mi sono sforzato metter insieme tutte le vergini romane, particularmente raccolte da manoscritti antichi nostri e di altri; nel fine di ciascheduna historia ho assegnato il tempo della lor morte, gli autori gravi che ne scrivono o ne fanno mentione; di poi, levate via alcune difficoltà pertinenti alla verità dell'historia, inoltre nominati i parenti o altri di quella famiglia santi, e riferiti succintamente gli atti loro, finalmente poste nella seconda parte molte historie di vergini forastiere col medesimo ordine, et un trattato nel principio diviso in quindici capitoli de gli instrumenti e modi di martirizzare usati da gli antichi contra i christiani con le loro figure in rame,' letter from Gallonio to Talpa, cited in Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, I, 730 n. 17.

[89] Giovanni Battista Natolini, *Legendario delle santissime vergini le quali volsero morire per il nostro Signore Giesu Christo* (Venice: V. Bonelli, 1586): see § 2.1.

virgins called Restituta, for example, with the help of the texts that he had collected, Gallonio is able to confirm what was reported in the *Martyrologium Romanum*: inhabitants of Sora venerated a person named Restituta who had suffered martyrdom under Emperor Aurelian, while Neapolitans venerated a Restituta who had become a martyr under Emperor Valerian. In this way, every life history is marked as an item in a collection of similar objects, commented upon in an accompanying annotation. The stereotypical pattern of the hagiographical narratives contrasts with the vivid discussion in the annotations. The result is very different from Natolini's little book. By consistently framing the biographies with an engraving at the beginning and a critical comment at the end, he reinforced the impression of putting the *vite* on display.

The systematic presentation that Gallonio adopted was not self-evident. In 1595 Abbot Silvano Razzi published the collection *Delle vite delle donne illustri per santità*.[90] Just like in the case of Natolini, he did not account for his historical sources in any systematic way. It was not a critical work such as that of Gallonio, although Razzi was well acquainted with the Oratorian's *Historia delle sante vergini romane* and even referred to it in his own *vita* of Serafina Romana.[91] In the preface to this work the abbot more or less apologizes for the lack of philological critique. He relied on the *Martyrologium Romanum*, the annotation of which he considered reliable enough to be used for the lives of saints for whom the source texts themselves were not available. The author mentions the enormous passion for collecting that had enabled Baronio to develop his critical views about the identity, the virtues and activities of the saints. From his monastery in Florence Razzi was not in a position himself to amass a similar amount of material.[92] The abbot did not, therefore, frame his life histories

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[90] Silvano Razzi, *Delle vite delle donne illustri per santità* 4 vols. (Florence: Giunti, 1595–1599).

[91] Ibid., II, 45–46. Odile Redon, 'Hagiographes croisées dans la Toscane de la fin du XVI[e] siècle' in: Sofia Boesch Gajano ed., *Raccolte di vite di santi dal XIII al XVIII secolo: strutture, messaggi, fruizioni* (Fasano: Schena, 1990) 143–157 (156–157). Gallonio in turn also possessed a copy of Razzi's book: ASR, Notai A.C. Vol. 66 ff. 112[vo].

[92] 'Ma se bene dice esso P. Baronio, che di molti e Santi, e Sante si hanno gl'Atti ciò e la vita in Roma statavi mandata dalle Chiese loro, tutta via per lo mio poco potere, non mi è venuto fatto di havere se non quelle, che si leggono ne'libri stampati, de quali ho havuto cognizione: & alcune poche da libri scritti a mano, statimi procacciati da diversi amici. E perche di due sorti sono quelle, delle quali danno lume le dette Notazioni: di quelle di cui si dicono (come ho detto pur'hora) essere stati mandati gl'Atti a Roma, non so che altro dire, poiche non dimorando io a Roma, a me è molto difficile haverne copia, e per conseguente poterne far parte ad altrui: ma d'altre, le quali si mostra donde si possono cavare, ma si ben faticoso cavarle dalle vite d'altri santi nel lequali vengono comprese, in

of the virgins with illustrations and comments. Judging from Razzi's preface, Gallonio was in a privileged position that allowed him to draw upon the sources and resources required to fashion a gallery of saints, living and working as he did in the Oratory.

Gallonio's *Historia delle sante vergini romane* was something of a museum of saintly virgins. In the early modern period the word 'museum' could denote both a physical collection of objects and a collection on paper: a library, a collection of drawings or prints, or an archive.[93] Gallonio himself, *en passant*, referred to at least one hagiographical collection as a museum. One of his manuscript volumes includes an 'Inventio SS. Stephani, Benedicti et sociorum', a description of the discovery of the bodies of Stephen and Benedict. It came from the collection of Costantino Caetani (1560–1650), a Benedictine abbot who had gathered together an enormous collection of hagiographical texts and other writings. Gallonio had copied it in his own hand.[94] To the title he added a note saying that the piece had come from an ancient manuscript from 'the museum of Don Costantino Caetani'.[95]

Musaeum, as well as *theatrum*, another term widely used to designate the display of collections, implied the framing of the overwhelming complexity of reality.[96] Many authors who published anthologies about diverse subjects included the word *musaeum* or *theatrum* in their titles. In 1625 Cardinal Federico Borromeo published the book *Musaeum*, in which he describes the greatest treasures from among his paintings and statues, which formed the basis of the Galleria Ambrosiana in Milan. Although his collection consisted by and large of works of art, Borromeo saw himself as following in the footsteps of Pliny, the great classical encyclopaedist who indiscriminately gathered all knowledge of society, nature and the

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maniera, che l'historia habbia il suo dovere, e d'altra parte non vi sia di soverchio.' Razzi, *Delle vite delle donne illustri*, I, (iii)ro–(iv)ro. Razzi was the Abbot of the monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Florence, of the Congregation of Camaldoli, a branch of the Benedictine order. Redon, 'Hagiographes croisées', 145.

93 Findlen, 'The museum', 62–63, 65, 67–68.

94 Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History*, 151–156; the legacy of his writings was one of the collections that Pope Alexander VII (1599–1667, pope 1655) was later to bring together and expand to institute the Biblioteca Alessandrina, currently the Special Collections of the University Library of the Sapienza. The core of the collection of Caetani consists of a hagiographical corpus of almost forty manuscripts. Giovanni Rita, *Il fondo manoscritto della Biblioteca Alessandrina* (s.l.: s.n., 1997) 85–86, 89.

95 'ex perantiquo Manuscripto Codice Musaei Domini Constantini Caetani Monachi Casinensis ordinis Sancti Patris Benedicti'. Gallonio adds: 'Ex Baronio, qui habuit a eodem Domini Constantino', BibVal Ms. H.12 ff. 101ro–106ro.

96 Findlen, *Possessing Nature*, 48–49.

cosmos.[97] Richard Verstegan's *Theatrum crudelitatum* is also a systematically elaborated collection, in this case of brutalities meted out by the Protestants to the Catholics. At the same time it was precisely in this period that the first public museums and libraries came into being, physical spaces that were accessible to a wide public, where objects from nature, antiquities and artistic objects were on display and books were made available to the public. In 1602 the Bodleian Library in Oxford opened its doors to the public, followed in 1609 by the Biblioteca Ambrosiana of Federico Borromeo in Milan, and in 1620 by Angelo Rocca's Biblioteca Angelica in Rome.[98]

It was in this climate of zealous collecting and exhibiting and, at the same time, framing, demarcating and specializing, that Gallonio established his hagiographical collection. The products of Gallonio's hagiographical work were also expressions of the encyclopaedism of the sixteenth century. The collection was open for endless accumulation, selections of which the collector presented in his publications as a closed universe. Gallonio was able to arrange the hagiographical writings he collected in an infinite number of combinations: the saintly Roman virgins, the instruments of torture, the complete inventory of martyrs of the first centuries of Christianity. Each category was intended to induce his readership to convert, to follow the holy examples and to implore the intercession of the saints.[99] In every one of his publications Gallonio put different sets of *sanctimonialia* on display, but ultimately they all referred to the same sanctity.

The Emblematic Presentation of the Hagiographical Collection

In his running report of the tributes to Neri that Francesco Zazzara maintained between 1595 and 1621, each year he devoted extensive attention to the decorations of the Chiesa Nuova on the occasion of the celebration of the day of the death of the Florentine on May 26. In Neri's room the group of devotees responsible for the installations in honor of the deceased had an altar decorated with cloths, flowers, candles and stucco decorations. On the walls of the staircases that led to this room they hung paintings and verses, both in Latin and Italian, in honor of Neri. In 1598,

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[97] Pamela M. Jones, *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana: Art Patronage and Reform in Seventeenth-Century Milan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) 32–33.

[98] Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectionneurs, amateurs et curieux: Paris, Venise: XVI^e^–XVIII^e^ siècle* (Paris: Gallimard, 1987) 56.

[99] See also Ditchfield, 'Text before trowel', 343–344, 348–349.

however, Gallonio hung up fewer poems than in the two preceding years. He did not want the church's visitors to loiter reading the verses, as this might hinder their devotions.[100] Gallonio thus took care to measure out the media which were meant to convey Neri's sanctity to the visitors so as to ensure that the celebrations proceeded smoothly.

Careful measuring and proportioning of texts and images characterizes all of Gallonio's hagiographical writings. Gallonio sketched the *imprese* of the martyrs, the emblems of the saints. In emblems, words and images always collaborated to refer to something that was not visible. An entire corpus of knowledge was opened up on the basis of a collection of succinctly explained vignettes. The texts of Gallonio's works—the taxonomies and reconstructions in the treatise of martyrdom, the biographies of the saintly virgins, the annotated history of Flavia Domitilla, Nereus and Achilleus—were elucidations that provided the right context for the emblems—the illustrations in the treatise of martyrdom with the legend, the engravings at the beginning of the *historie* of the saintly virgins with the date of their liturgical celebration, and the reliquaries of the titular saints of Baronio's basilica with its completely new fresco decoration.

Emblematic communication had experienced a marked development in the first half of the sixteenth century, during the generation of Andrea Alciati and Guillaume Budé. Alciati and Budé viewed emblematics as a mosaic. A series of emblems does not sketch a linear development, but creates the impression of an overall picture.[101] It was precisely during the period in which Gallonio published his works that all manner of publications appeared in Rome that were set up according to an emblematic pattern: a series of images, each of which was furnished with a short, motto-like text, in some instances in verse form, often followed by a longer elaboration that yielded the correct interpretation. The publisher Bartolomeo Grassi was very active in this. He published, among other things, the reproductions of the frescoes of Santo Stefano Rotondo with verses by the Jesuit Giulio Rossi (1585), a series of symbols by the same Giulio Rossi representing the works of charity (1586), a small work by Andrea Bacci about the twelve precious stones that had decorated the robe of the Old Testament High Priest Aaron (1587), a collection of allegorical interpretations of the dragon, the heraldic emblem of Gregory XIII (1588) and a small book

[100] Zazzara, 'Diario delle onoranze', 5, 7, 9.

[101] Charles Henebry, 'Figures of Speech: The Emblematum Liber', *Neophilologus* 87 (2003) 173–191 (175–176).

showing ladies' hair styles from various regions of Italy (undated), illustrated by Giovanni Guerra.[102] These scholars, priests and graphic artists whom we have already encountered in the milieu of Gallonio, were active in the fields of martyrology, natural history and illustration.

The analogy between the martyrological work of Gallonio and works of natural history and antiquarianism revealed itself not only in the taxonomic arrangement of collections, but also in the emblematic meaning that the writers gave to the collected objects. Natural phenomena were imbued with moral significance, and thus lent themselves well to emblematic representation. The study and description of animals, plants and minerals served not only to increase knowledge about nature, but also the self-representation of the aristocratic patrons of the scholars. In this it resembled the display of impressive feats of engineering.[103] Objects from nature were living emblems for the nobility.

The dragon, the heraldic emblem of the family Boncompagni from which Pope Gregory XIII issued, is an example of this. In 1572 an animal was discovered in the fields near Bologna. Ulisse Aldrovandi identified it as a dragon after he had enhanced its monstrous appearance by adding two bird's legs and the head of a fish. The Bolognese scholar then drew and described it in the same way that all manner of clerics, courtiers, poets and men of medicine drew up descriptions of dragons during those years. He captured both the animal's natural characteristics (scales, the head of a fish) and its allegorical meaning (a symbol of vigilance). By creating the right combination of an image with a natural description and moral interpretations, he endeavored to curry favor with the pope. The heraldic symbolism turned the carrion into an emblem which the aristocracy could appropriate in a combination of self-glorification and wit.[104]

Emblems challenged a high-born and well-educated public to discover multiple layers of meaning, but they were also suitable for a pedagogical use aimed at a wider public less accustomed to rhetorical and logical

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[102] Marco Ruffini, *Le imprese del drago. Politica, emblematica e scienze naturali alla corte di Gregorio XIII (1572–1585)* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2005) 48–50.

[103] Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*, 135–144; Findlen, *Possessing Nature*, 15–16, 41, 346–392.

[104] Ruffini, *Le imprese del drago*, in particular 13–32, 83–105; Ruffini's interpretation seems to me more convincing than that of Findlen, who by contrast sees Aldrovandi's record of the Bolognese "dragon" as an attempt to strip a natural phenomenon of its symbolic connotations. Findlen, *Possessing Nature*, 18–21. For the emblematic reproduction of natural objects as part of aristocratic self-representation: Armando Maggi, *Identità e impresa rinascimentale* (Ravenna: Longo, 1998); Olmi, *L'Inventario del mondo*, 170–178, 255–270; William B. Ashworth Jr., 'Natural history and the emblematic world view', 310–311.

conceptions. Through allegory, an emblem could twist the conventional meaning of a well-known motif to create an entirely new one. Ancient pagan motifs were transformed to refer to Christian doctrines. This could take the form of an oxymoron, the attribution of a characteristic that appeared to contradict that to which the characteristic was attributed, such as 'beautiful disfigurement'.[105] This trope was applied in the triumphal procession in honor of the tortured and murdered Flavia Domitilla and her eunuchs. The antithesis was intended to move his readership to contemplation.

For all its sober factuality, Gallonio's oeuvre was also pervaded by the trope of the oxymoron. Gallonio stage-managed sanctity by employing literary and graphic motifs which were not typical of Christian literature, but originated partly from pagan Antiquity and partly from secular actuality. In the course of this book we have seen time and again how Gallonio used elements from other disciplines and genres in order to fashion his hagiography, while at the same time implicitly or explicitly rejecting those other disciplines as vanity. The paradoxical use of secular elements for a Christian message resulted in emblematic works that were stripped of their usual enigma. Gallonio made grateful use of the opportunities offered by the integration of text and image, but did not allow his educated readership the pleasure of solving a riddle. The vanity that formed the basis of the popularity of the ambiguous emblem had to yield to the humble acceptance of a clear exhortation to devotion and submission.[106] With his *sanctimonialia* he created emblematic mosaics in which the individual instruments of torture, *historie* of virgin saints and episodes from the life of Neri, despite their common ground with worldly spheres of interest, unambiguously argued for the superiority of the spiritual domain of the saint.

6.4 *Conclusion*

Gallonio participated in the general culture of collecting with conviction and not, as in the case of the particular fields of law, medicine and

[105] Andrea Battistini, 'I manuali di retorica dei gesuiti' in: Gian Paolo Brizzi ed., *La ratio studiorum: modelli culturali e pratiche educative dei Gesuiti in Italia tra Cinque e Seicento* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1981) 77–120 (105).

[106] Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti, in his *Discorso sopra le immagini sacre e profane,* condemned the pride and vanity with which the public pondered about the ambiguous meanings of heraldic symbols and emblems as a pastime. Macioce, *Undique Splendent*, 75.

engineering, reluctantly, antagonistically, or with the aim of conveying a paradox—even if he would rather have exerted himself in acts of devotion than in intellectual endeavors, as we saw in the introductory chapter: 'Whenever I sat down to study, it felt as if I were going to die'.[107]

In the acquisition and processing of information about saints, Gallonio was assisted by persons from within his existing personal networks. These networks included clerics and laypeople with a diversity of social positions, operating both on a local level with a regional range and on a central level with a scope that encompassed Europe and the Mediterranean coasts. The accumulation and exchange of information about saints went hand in hand with mutual favors in the social and political sphere. In this, Gallonio and his fellow Oratorians behaved no differently than other collectors.

Although the matter that Gallonio collected was principally textual, he was not blind to visual or material items either, even if often he was informed about them indirectly, through a textual report. Gallonio built up the treatises of martyrdom and his other publications on the basis of quotations and paraphrases from his source texts, sometimes incorporating observations of objects and pictures. He displayed the snippets of source text and the occasional relic or painting in a paper museum of framed, compartmentalized objects.

Gallonio transformed chronologically and geographically specific phenomena into general, timeless phenomena. He worked out the classification of martyrdoms on the basis of functional and material characteristics. The same method was customary among scholars that compiled compendia of subjects such as siege machines, sports, fish, insects, plants and stones. With antiquarians and naturalists such as Michele Mercati and Girolamo Mercuriale, Gallonio shared the tendency to impose a system upon his collection, as well as the frequent deviations from his system and the dilemmas in applying it consistently.

Scholars from different backgrounds occupied themselves with similar questions on the basis of the same sources. Their aims might have been different, but their working methods were so similar that they were able to discuss issues on equal terms. Scholars and their sources functioned in a discourse of indiscriminate collecting and systematic classification that

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[107] 'Quando io andava allo studio, mi pareva d'andare alla morte.' Giacomo Ricci, 'Breve notitia di alcuni suoi compagni' in: Pietro Giacomo Bacci, *Vita di S. Filippo Neri Fiorentino fondatore della Congregatione dell'Oratorio* (Rome: F. Tizzoni, 1672) 170; see chapter 1.

comprised *historia sacra*, human history and natural history. The generic antiquities that Gallonio discussed in his martyrological treatise, the pots and pans and the pyramidal terracotta holders for the fire trumpets, are particularly illustrative of how Gallonio's *sanctimonialia* formed part of the entirety of knowledge that scholars endeavored to categorize. The result was like a library, a museum, a theater, or one of the other metaphors that were in common use in the early modern period in order to present a classified collection of elements by means of emblematic representation.

CHAPTER SEVEN

EPILOGUE

'O stultam sapientiam! O inanem cogitationem!' With these words Gallonio condemns the inventiveness of the persecutors of the Christians in the last chapter of the Latin edition of his martyrological treatise. 'Ignorant wisdom! Vain deliberation!'[1] This antithesis is the principle that underlies Gallonio's oeuvre. Every human effort aimed at improving the world is pointless, whether it relates to social order, physical well-being or the powers of nature. Man must employ talent and intelligence to work on his spiritual edification, in the hope of obtaining divine mercy. Tempting though it might be to pursue worldly achievements, Christians should practice endurance and have faith in divine providence. Saints, whether martyrs or ascetic confessors, demonstrated the way to do so, as Gallonio tried to evince in all his work.

Paradoxically enough, endurance was of an active sort. In full consciousness, the Christian chose continually to undergo ordeals in order to prove his belief in God. Gallonio himself, and with him the entire Roman Catholic clergy, could not look on passively, but had the duty to promote the conversion of their fellow Christians. Clerics were expected to make efforts to persuade believers to venerate saints with dedication. The hagiographic patrimony, from relics to *vitae*, from *officia* to fresco cycles, needed to be rendered persuasive. This compelled Gallonio to dirty his hands with worldly methods by which he could guarantee the credibility of these age-old genres. The specific methods that he chose varied per situation. When the emphasis lay on juridical-administrative issues he used the terminology and the style of argumentation used by jurists. If he needed to demonstrate the wonder of miraculous recoveries he employed medical knowledge. If he reconstructed a set of martyrological instruments as an alternative to the military equipment with which his readership strove to gain earthly fame, he chose engineering as his guideline. Every time, the paradox of the active cultivation of endurance determined how Gallonio applied these methods. He gave the impression

[1] Antonio Gallonio, *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus liber* (Rome: Tipografia della Congregazione dell'Oratorio, 1594) 183.

of venturing into the fields of law, medicine and engineering, but did not actually endorse them. After all, they were dependent on exactly that which he rejected: worldly ambition.

Despite his various choices in individual writings, they all have an emblematic character. The chronological narrative is always subordinate to the ahistorical, typological properties of sanctity. In many of Gallonio's works, images function in combination with texts, distributed and interrelated according to a fixed pattern like a collection of emblems. Image and text together refer to a person or experience that can be classified in a complete taxonomy of saintliness. At the same time, Gallonio again deviated from convention in the composition of his emblems. In general, emblems were enigmatic, with brief, cryptic texts that gave the readership the opportunity to demonstrate their own resourcefulness by discovering their meaning. Gallonio removed this element of play from his sacred emblems by making his textual explanation as clear as possible. He left nothing for his readership to guess at, bringing them face to face with the naked truth about the Church's saints.

Gallonio's Oeuvre

Gallonio's oeuvre was the result of years of collecting hagiographical information in all manner of forms. Gallonio created different works from this collection as the situation dictated. Numerous historical developments that figured in distinct historiographical traditions were of importance to how these works took shape. In this book, his works have been drawn upon repeatedly to determine Gallonio's position in these various historical developments. For the sake of clarity, his hagiographical oeuvre is surveyed here once more in chronological order.

Gallonio's first publications, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio* (1591) and *Historia delle sante vergini romane* (1591 [i.e. 1593]), belonged together and were emblem books. The *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio* was a martyrological machine theater, the *Historia delle vergini romane* a theater or museum of holy virgins. Each book presented the readership with a collection of emblems that represented the Christian characteristics of faith, hope, charity and endurance, represented in all manner of variants.

The *Historia della beata vergine Helena de'Massimi* (1593) is the least representative of Gallonio's hagiographical production. It is a personal meditation upon the virtues of his beloved confessant, rather than a project aimed at the general public or ecclesiastical officials such as his other

writings. It differs from his other works in that Gallonio intersperses this biography with emotional interjections and literal quotations from the Bible and patristics. One can speak here of constant exaltation. In Gallonio's oeuvre this short text is the most direct reflection of the demeanor that the Oratorian would have the believer adopt towards God's chosen ones: unconditional respect. Here there are no professional pretensions, merely devotion.

De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus liber (1594) is the opposite of the life story of Elena Massimo. Gallonio fashioned it as a very factual, logical and well-documented compendium of martyrological knowledge. Antiquarian erudition weakened its emblematic character as compared with the Italian edition and moulded it into a mechanically precise vocabulary. Furthermore, the topical, more polemical nature of the work pushed it in the direction of criminal law. It is in this respect significant that the lengthy foreword to this edition was written by the judge Pierpaolo Crescenzi. Gallonio to some extent stripped the Latin version of iconographic elements that the Italian version had in common with the contemporary martyrological visual culture, while he also refrained from expanding on the material documentation, the earthenware containers, the pots and pans. It became a martyrological reference work, an antiquarian glossary and commentary to the annotated *Martyrologium Romanum*.

The *Historia* […] *de'gloriosi santi Flavia Domitilla vergine, Nereo, et Acchilleo* (1597) was an ephemeral booklet, for which Gallonio 'dressed up' the biography of the early Christian virgin martyr from his *Historia delle vergini romane*. He enriched the unpublished Latin version of the hagiography with critical annotations that could compete with, for example, Antonio Bosio's *Historia passionis Beatae Caeciliae*. In the 'Vitae sanctorum' that Gallonio left uncompleted, he treated hundreds of saints with the same philological precision.

The *Vita beati patris Philippi Neri* (1600) and *Vita del beato padre Filippo Neri* (1601) were the fruits of Gallonio's efforts to promote the veneration of his own spiritual leader after the latter's death in 1595. This was a monographic *vita* in which Gallonio incorporated the miraculous healings in a meticulous medical vocabulary. By constantly noting in the margins the precedents that the events had in *historia sacra*, he staged Neri as a representative of a succession of ascetic saints that dated back to eastern monasticism. Gallonio adapted the Italian edition to meet the tastes of a readership that sought fewer technical details and more emotional enthrallment.

The various versions of 'De his quae praestari possunt nondum canonizatis' (1596–1602) also emanated from Gallonio's efforts towards the veneration and prospective canonization of Neri. However, the juridical treatise had a much wider scope. With this treatise, Gallonio made a contribution to the jurisprudence relating to new cases of veneration. He circulated it in manuscript form among several important dignitaries of the Church (such as Agostino Cusano and Federico Borromeo), but it never appeared in print, and he probably intended it to be a working document for discussion among the relevant Church authorities.

It is important to realize that Gallonio's publications were actually all 'snapshots' in a continuous process of collecting and classifying hagiographical information. Given this general characteristic, Gallonio's oeuvre falls into two distinct groups: the two editions of the *Vita* of Neri and the juridical tract, conditioned by the demise of Neri, and the writings of the preceding decade, all of which were related to historical saints. Within this latter group Gallonio used much from earlier works without adapting the old material to fit in with the new context. This can be seen, for example, in how he accounts for his sources in the report of the death of Flavia Domitilla and her companions. In the *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio*, Gallonio refers to the *Historia delle sante vergini romane* for relevant sources, which is logical since the two books came out at more or less the same time and originally were part of a single project. It is less obvious that he subsequently copied the exact same reference to the *Historia delle sante vergini romane* in *De sanctorum martyrum cruciatibus*, in view of the fact that this was intended for an international readership and had thus become separate from the publication about Roman saintly virgins. In this way Gallonio recycled his earlier work in new projects with an altogether different scope and intended readership.

After the death of Neri, Gallonio's activities in collecting hagiographical materials took on a more limited and focused nature through his concentration on the canonization of his spiritual leader. At the same time he became involved in the conflicts that unfolded at the central level of the Catholic Church relating to the interference of the curial tribunals in local, spontaneously burgeoning cults. From this emanated the discussion about the veneration of persons not yet canonized in which, in addition to the edicts and treatises of medieval popes and prelates, monographic *vitae* and the well-known hagiographic collections of Surius and Lippomano also provided source material. Gallonio's oeuvre was the result of a continuous rearrangement of his material.

Gallonio, the Oratory and Rome

The Oratory was an expressly local organization that set itself the task of managing and strengthening spiritual life in the city of Rome. The monk Agostino Ghettini had told Neri that he should concentrate his missionary work on Rome, and the Florentine took heed of that advice. The organization's strong local orientation is also apparent from its structure, in which new branches in other localities (Naples and various places in the Marche) functioned autonomously without leadership from Rome. The local orientation of the Oratory is also apparent in Gallonio's oeuvre. As the title indicates, his *Historia delle sante vergini romane* relates to Roman virgins, and is also aimed at the youth of the Roman elite. His works cannot be seen as separate from his daily activities as the confessor of young aristocratic women and as a preacher in the gatherings that had a central role in the Oratorian catechism. The ambitions and concerns of his confessants resonate in his work.

Gallonio did not produce any voluminous folios that gained the status of works of reference of ecclesiastical erudition, such as the *Martyrologium Romanum* and the *Annales ecclesiastici* of his fellow Oratorian Cesare Baronio. Nor did he discover manuscripts or antiquities of such note as to make him a forerunner of Antonio Bosio or other pioneers in the area of Christian archaeology. The importance of his oeuvre is not to be found in the content or amount of knowledge he unlocked, but in the manner in which he processed it. The variety and the range of appropriations from other areas of activity reflect his multifaceted involvement in the world about him: the sessions of Curial tribunals, the visits to prisoners in the Roman dungeons, the medication and operations to which the physicians subjected sick contemporaries, the discussions he carried out with his female confessants, their brothers and their fathers about glory and humility. It is precisely his modest and accessible yet varied oeuvre that makes this involvement visible, more so than the vast and uniform production of prolific writers such as Baronio and Bosio.

Gallonio's focus on signs of saintliness is a constant in all his work. The signs of saintliness form a subset of the totality of signs of the Church that were perceptible in the *Ecclesia militans*. Gallonio collected these signs with an unremitting avidity, and presented them to his readership as emblems of endurance. The papers and books that came into his possession form a collection of hagiographical testimonies that bear few traces of hierarchy. The works that he himself created confirm this. He always

tried to classify the signs of saintliness systematically, but in spite of this all the signs were of equal importance. Even if propriety dictated that he begin with the Cross and finish with a remainder of miscellaneous torments, even if he was tied to the calendar of the liturgy or to the chronology of the course of Neri's life, this order and structure did not alter the fact that all signs of saintliness were of equal value. Gallonio collected the *sanctimonialia* in the same way as, for example, the physicians Michele Mercati and Girolamo Mercuriale collected their *artificialia* and *naturalia*, and he presented them to his readership as emblems of endurance.

As a scholar and writer Gallonio was more akin to his fellow Oratorian Tommaso Bozio than to Baronio. All three of them drew upon similar historical source material for their writings. However, Gallonio and Bozio processed their data according to typological schemes, while Baronio maintained a rigidly historical structure. The characterization of the Oratorian cultural production as historical and the Jesuit cultural production as emblematic is a gross simplification, too one-sidedly based on the work of Baronio as being representative of the erudite authorship within the Oratory.

In fact, the Oratorians experimented with various forms of erudition. Bozio's *De signis ecclesiae Dei* is an enormous collection of historical examples, in which a priest could find material for his sermons, and a Catholic polemicist arguments for use in debates. In addition, Bozio wrote a number of expressly political works in which he adopted a theocratic standpoint and attacked Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527) on a number of occasions.[2] Giovanni Severano, the Oratorian who published Bosio's *Roma sotterranea* after the latter's death, also wrote a repertory of edifying deaths. This is not classified geographically or thematically but alphabetically, according to the name of the deceased.[3] In this work, differently from Gallonio in his treatise of martyrdom, the author appealed to biblical passages and reflected on the moral lessons to be learned from them. Yet, like Gallonio, Severano also stripped the historical context from a number

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[2] Tommaso Bozio, *De imperio virtutis sive Imperia pendere a veris virtutibus non a simulatis libri duo. Adversus Macchiavellum* (Rome: B. Bonfadini, 1593); idem, *De robore bellico diuturnis et amplis catholicorum regnis liber unus. Adversus Macchiavellum* (Rome: B. Bonfadini, 1593); idem, *De Italiae statu, antiquo et novo, libri quatuor, adversus Machiavellum* (Cologne: J. Gymnich, 1595); idem, *De ruinis gentium et regnorum adversus impios politicos libri octo* (Rome: G. Facciotti, 1596); idem, *De iure status sive de iure naturali et divino ecclesiasticae libertatis et potestatis* (Rome: B. Bonfadini, 1599).

[3] Giovanni Severano, *Pretiosae mortes iustorum ex variis, probatisq. auctoribus collectae* (Rome: G. Mascardi, 1627).

of hagiographical texts, laying bare a motif that he systematically classified from a specific viewpoint. It would be worthwhile to include the works of even less well-known Oratorian authors, such as Giovanni Francesco Bordini, Agostino Manni, Francesco Bozio (the brother of Tommaso), or Tommaso Galletti in a study of the ecclesiastical literature of the first generation of Oratorians. It is clear that Gallonio, rather than being a 'weak brother' of Baronio, was among a group of self-willed Oratorian authors who tried out different forms in order to lay a persuasive cognitive and pedagogical foundation for the traditions of the Catholic Church.

Professional Clergy

The formats and rhetoric in which Gallonio chose to shape hagiographical knowledge show how he tried to portray the clergy as an exceptional professional group. He attempted to lead, not to say seduce, the layfolk by whom he was surrounded into the domain of the spirit. His considerable collection of hagiography and historiography was a source of constantly recurring signs of sainthood that he could employ in different genres at will. Irrespective of the terrain into which he ventured, he could always offer a spiritual alternative to the worldly interests that he encountered. He turned the torture that was applied in criminal trials, both secular and ecclesiastical, into a trial in which the Christian martyr could prove his endurance and his unconditional belief. Gallonio even tried to limit the juridical finesses of the canonization procedure to what was minimally required to steer spontaneously arisen devotions in the right direction. In order to emphasize the influence of saints in the daily lives of simple mortals, he described Neri's miraculous cures in terms that fit in with the notions about illness and cures held by the readership at which he was aiming. This meant emphasizing that relics were more efficacious than powders and potions for the readers of Italian, while treating the readers of Latin to humanistic medicine. By concentrating on the mechanics of the machines with which the pagan persecutors tortured their Christian victims, Gallonio turned the attributes that identified martyrs into a spiritual alternative to the military ordnance deployed by the commanders of armies. Gallonio's collection of *sanctimonialia* provided the material to bring about this emblematic inversion.

The work of Gallonio contributed to the conversion of a varied public. Social discipline came about through the sacraments, education and popular amusement. Gallonio contributed to social discipline by giving new

form to accepted knowledge, making use of new strategies to underpin this knowledge. By offering a spiritual alternative to worldly spheres of activity, Gallonio diverted his public's attention away from social order, corporeal well-being and human ingenuity toward the salvation of the soul.

From Gallonio's hagiographical works emerges the disposition that he envisioned for the clergy within a fast-transforming social and professional configuration: detached involvement. While Gallonio and Bozio fashioned their writings in a similar manner, they display a great difference in their opinions about the relationship between the clergy and society. Gallonio had no interest in human ingenuity or the technological innovations that sprung from it, while the author of *De signis ecclesiae Dei* did consider the products of human intelligence useful and wanted to claim them for the Church. Accordingly, Bozio made a case for a Church that was militant not only in a spiritual sense but also in a worldly sense, equipped with the military means of defending its own interests. Gallonio did not acknowledge the worth of earthly achievements and emphasized that the salvation of the soul should be the first priority of every Christian. He presented himself and the priesthood to which he belonged as the rightful guardians of the spiritual integrity of mankind. That made the clergy a vital professional group in society, more so even than jurists, physicians and engineers.

Gallonio attached a great amount of responsibility to the clergy in his hagiographical works, sometimes implicitly, sometimes explicitly. The celibate clergy were, together with the saintly virgins, responsible for the spiritual procreation of humanity. They upheld the constant triumph of the Church in sacred history amidst the incessant flow of secular history. This constant triumph was to be seen in the signs, which stayed the same year after year, century after century.

The three worldly spheres of activity—law, medicine and engineering—manifest themselves in different ways in Gallonio's work. This corresponds with the different status they had in European society during this period. Law had for centuries been a highly autonomous and well-articulated functional field of activity, a practical discipline with a theoretical basis. Jurists studied the subject at the university and subsequently applied it in courts of law, in royal courts and in urban administration. Medicine had originally been a philosophical discipline that was unrelated to the practice of health care. Only in the fourteenth century did university medicine and surgical and pharmacological practice come closer to one another, overlapping and of course competing with one another, but the distinction was removed definitively only in the nineteenth cen-

tury. Conversely, engineering had initially been the preserve of craftsmen, and started to gain a theoretical dimension only in the fifteenth century, owing to the work of mathematicians and geometricians. Gallonio's relationship with each of the spheres of activity reflects their development as autonomous professions.

Law figures in Gallonio's oeuvre in a straightforward manner in accordance with the predominance of legal procedures in the administration of ecclesiastical as well as secular affairs. His treatise about the acts of veneration that were allowed to be performed for recently deceased persons was a purely juridical treatment of the matter. Gallonio conformed to the normal canonization procedure, which hinged upon the testimonies concerning miraculous healings, conversions and exceptional examples of virtue and physical ascesis. Martyrdom was a case apart, a radical testimony of service to God. This testimony not only bore witness to the exceptional state of grace of the martyr, but also exposed the godlessness of pagan and heretical governments. As such, it was for Gallonio a spiritual inversion of secular criminal proceedings. It was the task of the clergy to record and conserve all these testimonies, and thus realize the spiritual jurisprudence on which to base future cases.

Medicine has principally a negative role in the work of Gallonio. In the *Vita* of Neri all manner of medical terminology and explanatory models turn up, brought up by the physicians themselves. Medicine crossed the path of the clergy so frequently that their presence had to be acknowledged explicitly in Gallonio's work. All these experts and their knowledge were of interest only insofar as they failed in their task of solving medical and physiological issues. The clergy claimed superior authority when they were at cross-purposes with the medical men. The clergy were responsible for the documentation of cases where physical ailments and transformations could be shown to derive from a spiritual condition, be it corruption or grace. Medical experts served merely to emphasize the futility of human understanding in these cases.

Engineering is of importance as a metaphor rather than literally in Gallonio's works. The treatises of martyrdom are similar to the antiquarian technological discussions that frequently turned up in this period, but on closer examination the author remains within the boundaries of his own clerical culture. He suggests a technical finesse that he does not substantiate. In spite of man's ingenuity the world remained a vale of tears, and life was nothing but a temporary pilgrimage. Christians were supposed to realize this and to recognize the vanity of human resourcefulness. Indeed, it was the task of the clergy to teach the believer to put blind faith in

God. That can be seen in the extensive discussion about the *equuleus*, the instrument on which Balthasar Gerards, like dozens of Christian martyrs, was said to have been tortured. Gerards was the paragon of endurance, that virtue on which the Church of Rome focused its attention. His constancy in the face of torments such as that of the wooden horse makes it clear that, despite all the technical ingenuity employed for the design of the apparatus, it was the victim's belief in God that ultimately prevailed.

Gallonio attempted to effect conversion in his readership through a strategy of manipulative pliancy. This was a determining factor for the presence of worldly elements in his oeuvre. Instead of reacting against worldly ambitions, the priest went along with the efforts of his worldly readership in order to show them in their own field that spiritual achievements were of infinitely greater value than material successes or social status.

This strategy of manipulative pliancy was at odds with a more confrontational tendency that was markedly present in the Tridentine Church and of which, for example, Bozio and the judge Francisco Peña were representatives. This tendency expressed itself in the emphasis on hierarchy, in the careful demarcation of ecclesiastical and worldly jurisdictions, in the Church's claim to exclusive moral authority and in the incorporation of technological and medical attainments in order to defend the Church against external interference. The consolidation and bureaucratic expansion of papal monarchy in the seventeenth century can be considered as the victory of such a restrictive approach over the strategy of pliancy that Gallonio represented. The enthusiastic support of Paul V for the military campaigns of the Catholic monarchs during the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) contrasts with the conciliatory politics of his predecessor Clement VIII who, with the assent of Baronio, allowed the former Protestant Henry of Bourbon (1553–1610) to return to the bosom of the Catholic Church, and recognized him as Henry IV of France in 1594. In the cult of the saints this new stringency was expressed in the decrees of Urban VIII that curbed the veneration of new saints and placed it under the supervision of the central administrative organs of the Catholic Church. The medical examination became a standard part of the canonization procedure, which implied recognition of the medical profession, provided that it confined itself to its own competencies and submitted itself to the authority of the Church. In the area of engineering too, the Catholic clergy hardly practiced reticence, judging from seventeenth-century baroque construction projects.

Gallonio's model of pliancy, in which the priest was a humble companion of worldly administrators, scholars and professionals, a companion that constantly pointed out the importance of salvation, was no match

for the restrictive model. This dominant model of the strict separation and demarcation of procedures presented the priest as a leader that took on the achievements of worldly spheres of activity and made them subordinate to the interests of the Church. Ultimately, this model was not to hold its own, either. This was apparent in the cult of the saints in the eighteenth century, when even Benedict XIV appeared to be sceptical about the competency of the Church to be able to establish sanctity with any certainty, despite his own titanic juridical work *De servorum Dei beatificatione et beatorum canonizatione*.[4]

However, matters had not reached this stage in 1605, the year in which Gallonio died. On the day of his death the Borghese pontificate began. The strategy of pliancy soon had to make way for the hierarchical and restrictive outlook of the Church. Gallonio's oeuvre quickly lost its topicality in this new climate. However, for as long as he lived he fought for his ideal of pliant guidance, instructing his readers in the virtue of endurance.

[4] Giuseppe dalla Torre, 'Il martirio in Benedetto XIV' in: Giulio Malaguti ed., *Martirio di pace: memoria e storia del martirio nel XVIII centenario di Vitale e Agricola* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2004) 347–364 (347–348).

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INDEX OF NAMES

Aaron 289
Accursius 147
Achilleus (saint) 54, 65n51, 66, 85–87, 89, 92, 94, 96, 99, 116, 125, 193, 260, 289, 291, 298
Adam 145
Ado of Vienne 65
Agape (saint) *see* Charitas (saint)
Agathius 146, 252
Agathius (saint) 273
Agnes (saint) 68
Alberici, Iacopo 185–187, 280
Alciati, Andrea 147, 216, 289
Aldobrandini, Ippolito *see* Clement VIII
Aldobrandini, Pietro 151
Aldrovandi, Ulisse 257, 265, 272, 290
Alexander (saint) 273
Alexander VII (pope, Fabio Chigi) 287n94
Allen, William 144
Alluminati, Alessandro 136
Amadeo, Domenico 26n66
Amandus 261
Ambrosio, Domenico 186n103
Ammianus Marcellinus 70, 210, 215n54
Anastasia (saint) 211
Ancina, Giovanni Giovenale 4, 6, 82n82, 192
Andronicus (saint) 42n130
Anerio, Giovanni 4, 6
Animuccia, Giovanni 4
Antherus (pope, saint) 76, 78
Anthony the Abbot (saint) 67, 97, 158
Antonelli, Francesco 129
Antoniano, Silvio 55, 111–113, 117, 124, 130, 224, 258
Apicella, Fabio 170
Archimedes 199
Aresti, Fabio 258
Aringhi, Paolo 28, 29n77, 43
Aristotle 27, 34, 269, 274
Artemia (saint) 74–75
Athanasius of Alexandria (saint) 67, 97, 158
Augustine (saint) 139–140
Aulus Gellius 208
Aurelian (emperor) 252, 286
Aurelianus 85–86
Bacci, Andrea 71, 179, 207–208, 279, 282, 289
Bacci, Pier Giacomo 105
Baldini, Ugo 24n61
Bandini, Francesco 46n2, 255n9
Barbara (saint) 68
Barberini, Maffeo *see* Urban VIII
Barocci, Federico 225
Baronio, Cesare 6, 33, 39, 50n9, 54–55, 66, 82n82, 86n85, 94–95, 97–98, 112, 117, 120, 124, 130, 159n14, 171n57, 220, 252, 263, 282, 304
  and Gallonio 7–8, 26n66, 50n11, 69, 111, 259–260, 300–301
  Annales ecclesiastici 6–7, 20, 47, 49, 59, 62n38, 63, 69, 93, 145n128, 201, 213, 224, 259n22, 277–278, 299
  church restauration 10, 54, 86–87, 89, 94–97, 222–223, 289
  historia sacra 58n31, 66, 214, 252, 253n1, 277–278, 300
  Martyrologium Romanum 47–48, 55, 65, 75, 107, 119, 257, 286, 299
Barsum 166–169
Bascapé, Carlo 158–160, 174, 187, 256
Beatrix (saint) 78, 79n76
Bede (doctor of the church) 65, 68
Bellarmino, Roberto (saint) 55, 111, 120
Benedict (saint) 287
Benedict XIV (pope, Prospero Lambertini) 129, 141, 305
Benincasa, Orsola (venerable) 133, 173
Berengarius of Saint Affrique 280n76
Besson, Jacques 199, 207, 222, 245
Bezzo, Orazio 260
Bianchetti, Lorenzo 103
Biondi, Albano 15n36
Biondo, Flavio 72
Blaise (saint) 282
Boer, Wietse de 16
Bolland, Jean 53
Boncompagni, Ugo *see* Gregory XIII
Bonomi, Francesco 159n14
Borbone, Pietro Giacomo 173, 174n64
Bordini, Giovanni Francesco 35, 301
Borghese, Camillo *see* Paul V

Borromeo, Carlo (saint) 12, 16, 42, 116, 120, 124, 127, 158–160, 167n46, 174, 187, 192, 256, 266n47
Borromeo, Federico 11, 42–43, 117, 124, 127, 130, 159n14, 185n99, 256, 287, 288, 298
Bosio, Antonio 20, 73–74, 196, 218n58, 245, 263, 297, 299–300
Bosio, Giacomo 231
Botero, Giovanni 159n14
Boulenger, Jules César 197
Bozio, Francesco 109, 223, 301
Bozio, Tommaso 20, 37, 39, 58n31, 109n26, 157, 197, 206–207, 212, 220–221, 223, 236, 251, 266–267, 281–283, 300–302, 304
Bragadin, Antonio 221, 266
Bridgewater, John 60
Brisson, Barnabé 70, 147, 149
Brom, Gisbert 220n63
Budé, Guillaume 147, 204, 205n24, 289
Burke, Peter 12–13, 21, 265n45
Buzi, Giacomo 102, 103n1, 104, 184

Caesarius (saint) 94–95
Caetani, Costantino 287
Calepini, Ambrogio 216
Calvin 266
Camporesi, Piero 12–13, 18
Cantelli, Gianfranco 177n71
Cantimori, Delio 15n36
Caracciolo, Giulio 261
Carcano Leone, Giovanni Battista 187
Cardano, Girolamo 216
Cardella, Girolamo 170
Carracci, Ludovico 224
Carvajal, Luisa 194, 195n1
Cassiani, Gennaro 17n43
Castellano, Bernardino 136, 184, 186–187
Castellini, Luca 141n115
Caterina da Siena (saint) 112n35
Caterina di Cristo 186–187
Cecilia (saint) 68, 71, 79n74, 208, 263
Cedrenus, Georgius 70
Celsus 71, 164, 208
Cesalpino, Andrea 161n24, 171–173, 176–177, 182n93, 183n95, 184–185, 257, 278
Cesi, Federico 186
Chacón, Alfonso 20, 118–119, 140–141, 208, 265, 277, 282
Charitas (saint) 74–75
Cheli, Artemisia 171
Chiara da Montefalco (saint) 95, 110–111, 134–135, 185–186, 258, 280–281
Chigi, Fabio *see* Alexander VII
Chrysanthus (saint) 74, 79n76
Cicero 70, 213
Cistellini, Antonio 7, 29, 30n79
Clement I (pope, saint) 45, 66, 86, 93–96, 98–99, 116, 117, 125
Clement IV (pope, Guido le Gros) 95
Clement V (pope, Bertrand de Got) 95
Clement VIII (pope, Ippolito Aldobrandini) 54, 74n67, 89, 95–96, 104, 109, 112, 114–117, 118n49, 119–120, 167, 190, 264, 304
Cochrane, Eric 14n34, 48n6
Codognet, Philippe 13
Codronchi, Giovanni Battista 161n24, 173
Colombo, Realdo 188, 189n110, 280–281
Colonna, Marcantonio 118, 119n52
Columella 275
Conchilia (saint) 74–75
Concordia (saint) 74–75
Consolini, Pietro 40, 43, 170
Constantine (emperor) 85, 91
Costa, Diana 30
Crescenzi, family 33, 40, 43, 195
Crescenzi, Giacomo 26n66, 34, 41, 104, 105n13, 253–254, 265
Crescenzi, Giovanni Battista 34, 40, 224
Crescenzi, Pantesilea 162n26
Crescenzi, Pierpaolo 34, 41, 104, 139, 211–212, 215, 283, 297
Crescenzi, Virgilio 33
Cresci, Giovanni Battista 127
Cresswell, Joseph 60
Crivelli, Giovanni Battista 162
Crivelli, Prospero 161, 178
Crivelli, Virginia 163n27
Cujas, Jacques 70, 147, 149
Cusano, Agostino 89, 103–104, 122, 190, 191n115, 298
Cyprian (saint) 69, 157n9, 214
Cyriac (saint) 94
Cyrilla (saint) 74–75
Cyril of Scythopolis 67

Dalla Torre, Giuseppe 121n59
Daniel Stylites (saint) 59
Danti, Egnazio 224
Daria (saint) 74–75, 79n76
Daston, Lorraine 22
De Claramunt, Luis 131
De Landtsheer, Jeanine 270
Del Bello, Marcantonio 136, 184
Delehaye, Hippolyte 56n26
Del Drago, Costanza 33
Del Monte, Francesco Maria 31

De'Medici, family 31
De'Medici, Giovanni *see* Leo X
De Rossi, Giovanni Battista 73n65, 263n38
De'Rustici, Lavinia 41n124
De'Rustici, Sigismonda 41n124
De Villegas, Alonso 105
Diego d'Alcalá (saint) 107, 131–132
Dionysius of Alexandria (saint) 174
Di Rienzo, Cola 37
Ditchfield, Simon 8–9, 16, 22n54, 86n85, 105n12, 121n59
Domitian (emperor) 84
Dunstan (saint) 67

Egmond, Florike 26
Egnazio, Giovanni Battista 200n19
Eguía, Iago 188
Elizabeth (saint) 225
Elizabeth I (queen of England) 144
Ephysius (saint) 256
Erasmus (saint) 112
Erasmus, Desiderius 48, 49n6
Errard, Jean 199, 207, 245
Estaço, Aquiles 35
Euclid 199
Euphrosyna (saint) 66
Euphrosyne of Alexandria (saint) 195
Eusebius of Caesarea (saint) 63, 69, 174n66, 214n52, 215, 284n86
Eutitius (saint) 254–255, 265
Evermodus of Ratzeburg (saint) 68
Eymericus, Nicolaus 121n59, 150

Farnese, Alessandro *see* Paul III
Farnese, family 257
Fedeli, Germanico 136
Fedelis von Sigmaringen (saint) 138n108
Ferdinand I (grand duke of Tuscany) 162n26
Festus, Sextus Pompeius 277n70
Fiammelli, Giovanni Francesco 197
Fides (saint) 74–75
Filippo Neri (saint) *see* Neri, Filippo (saint)
Findlen, Paula 290n104
Firpo, Luigi 15n36
Firpo, Massimo 15n36
Flaccus 269
Flavia Domitilla (saint) 34, 54, 65–66, 68–69, 84–87, 89, 91–96, 99, 116, 125, 193, 260, 289, 291, 297–298
Flavia (saint) 211
Flavius Josephus *see* Josephus
Foucault, Michel 284n87

Fra Giocondo 209
Frederick II (Holy Roman Emperor) 262n32

Galen 27, 71, 166, 185, 208
Galesini, Pietro 159n14
Galle, Philips 200n19
Galletti, Tommaso 301
Gallonio, Flaminia 30n81
Gallonio, Lazzaro 30
Gaudentius (saint) 259, 262
Gentilcore, David 18
Gerards, Balthasar 219–222, 266, 304
Gesner, Conrad 216
Ghettini, Agostino 17n43, 156, 299
Ghislieri, Michele *see* Pius V
Gibetti, Giuseppe 256, 258
Gimaret, Anoinette 9
Ginzburg, Carlo 26
Giussano, Giovanni Pietro 159n14, 187
Giustiniani, Lorenzo (saint) 119n55
Gonzaga, Marco 174–175
Gotor, Miguel 10
Grafton, Anthony 21, 48n6
Grassi, Bartolomeo 289
Gregory I (pope, saint) 45, 93, 96–99, 157, 211
Gregory IX (pope, Ugolino di Conti) 262n32
Gregory XIII (pope, Ugo Boncompagni) 3, 172, 176, 224, 289–290
Gregory XIV (pope, Paolo Camillo Sfondrati) 36
Gregory XV (pope, Alessandro Ludovisi) 105
Gregory, Brad 9
Gretser, Jacob 231, 270
Guerra, Giovanni 180, 222–224, 236–237, 290
Guerra, Giovanni Battista 180–181, 222
Gutenberg, Johannes 200n19

Haskell, Francis 21n52
Hecht, Christian 11n27
Heemskerk, Maarten van 33
Helpis (saint) *see* Spes (saint)
Henry IV (king of Castille) 131
Henry IV (king of France) 304
Herklotz, Ingo 274
Herz, Alexandra 225n81
Hilaria (saint) 74–75
Hilarion (saint) 38, 97
Hippocrates 27, 172
Hippolytus (saint) 95

Ignatius Loyola (saint) *see* Loyola, Ignatius (saint)
Innocent IV (pope, Sinibaldo Fieschi) 117
Innocent VIII (pope, Giovanni Battista Cybo) 132

Jacopo da Varazze 263n37
Jacopone da Todi 179n84
Jacques de Vitry 67
Jedin, Hubert 14n34
Jerome (saint) 48, 49n6, 93, 97–99, 256, 262n36
John Cassian (saint) 46, 49, 255, 258
John of Nepomuk (saint) 138n108
John the Evangelist (saint) 17, 156
John XXII (pope, Jacques D'Euse) 111
Jonas (saint) 201
Josephus 205n24
Juan de Sahagún (saint) 112–116, 119
Julian (saint) 264–265
Juliana (saint) 74–75
Julius Caesar 210
Jungermann, Gotthard 216
Justinian (emperor) 147–148

Kentmann, Johannes 284
Krantz, Albert 68

Labrador, Isidro (saint) 105n10
Lambertini, Prospero *see* Benedict XIV
Lampridius 70
Lawrence (saint) 79
Le Goff, Jacques 157n6
Leo X (pope, Giovanni de'Medici) 134n96
Leopold of Austria (saint) 132
Lestringant, Frank 9, 13
Ligorio, Pirro 72, 218n58, 257, 276
Lindanus, Wilhelmus 201
Lippomano, Luigi 64, 201, 298
Lipsius, Justus 197–198, 208–210, 222, 231, 236, 270
Livy 70, 210
Lobo, Alonso 176
Löwith, Karl 56n26
Loyola, Ignatius (saint) 12, 105n10, 120, 187–189, 192, 280–281
Lucian of Samosata 142–143
Ludovisi, Alessandro *see* Gregory XV

Machiavelli, Niccolò 300
Maffa, Marcantonio 103–104, 120, 122, 164–166
Maffei, Giovanni Pietro 189, 280, 281n77
Maggi, Girolamo 208–210, 216–217, 221, 236–237
Mainardi, Cesare 261
Manni, Agostino 35, 40, 301
Manno (saint) 262n36
Mansour, Opher 11
Manuzio, Aldo 216
Marciano, Giovanni 28
Margherita da Città di Castello 281
Marie d'Oigny (blessed) 67
Marinus (saint) 264
Mark (saint) 277
Martial 274
Mary (saint) 127, 206, 225
Mason, Peter 26
Massimo, Anna 40
Massimo, Elena 2, 40, 51, 98, 123, 127, 194–195, 296–297
Massimo, Fabrizio 40–42, 195
Massimo, family 40, 43, 51, 195
Massimo, Paolo 40
Massimo, Pietro 40–42
Maurice of Nassau 198n11
Maurus (saint) 212n44
Maximinus (emperor) 158
Medici, Giovanni Angelo *see* Pius IV
Memmia (saint) 74–75
Mercati, Michele 82, 175–178, 257–258, 265–267, 272, 274–276, 278–279, 282, 284, 292, 300
Mercati, Pietro 177
Mercuriale, Girolamo 256–258, 262, 273–276, 279, 282, 292, 300
Mercurialis (saint) 256–257, 259n24, 261–262
Mezzabarba, Giulio Cesare 29
Millini, Giovanni Garsia 112n39, 112n41
Modio, Giovanni Battista 177–179, 208, 279
Molanus, Johannes 11, 65, 197
Mombrizio, Bonino 64–66
Momigliano, Arnaldo 279n72
Mosconio, Isidoro 185, 280
Muret, Marc Antoine 56, 147

Natali, Pietro 64–66
Natolini, Giovanni Battista 26, 51, 285–286
Nereus (saint) 54, 65n51, 66, 85–87, 89, 92, 94, 96, 99, 116, 125, 193, 260, 289, 291, 298
Neri, Filippo (saint) 1, 33–36, 38–42, 53, 98, 106n14, 133, 155–156, 159, 161–162, 172–173, 177–179, 185–186, 191, 206, 225, 260, 285, 298
  and Gallonio 18n46, 30n81, 33, 35–39, 43, 102, 224–225

ascetic discipline 158–160
autopsy 136–137, 181–184, 186–192
canonization trial 29, 82n82, 102, 104–107, 122, 125, 127, 132, 152, 161, 166–168, 172, 298
confessor 29
founder of the Oratory 4, 6–7, 17, 49, 93, 299
historia sacra 20
miracles 40, 126–127, 137, 155–156, 162–163, 165–170, 172, 177–179, 181–182, 184–186, 190, 192, 301
subject of *Vita* 12, 17, 26, 41, 45, 53–54, 58–59, 67–68, 82, 97, 104, 126, 138, 155, 158–165, 168–171, 176–192, 194, 208, 270, 283–284, 291, 297–298, 300–301, 303
veneration of 53, 101–103, 120, 122, 136, 191, 288–289
Nero (emperor) 218n58
Nicephorus 69
Nicola Pellegrino (saint) 261, 265
Numai, Antonio 262

O'Malley, John 14n34
Oribasius 217
Origen 69
Orsini, Fulvio 257, 265
Orsini, Olimpia 186–187
Osbert 67
Ovid 142

Paci, Claudio 53, 255n9, 256, 259, 262
Paleotti, Gabriele 11, 213, 224, 291n106
Pamphilj, Girolamo 103–104, 112n39, 112n41, 159n14
Panciroli, Ottavio 196
Panvinio, Onofrio 20, 63, 73, 197, 218n58, 257
Paolucci, Fabrizio 46, 49, 53, 55, 255–259, 262, 264–265
Papa, Giovanni 10
Papenbroek, Daniel van 53
Paphnutius (saint) 195
Papias (saint) 212n44
Parasole, Girolama 222
Parasole, Leonardo 222
Parigi, Ludovico 29n75
Parsons, Robert 60
Pasquali, Scipione 197
Pateri, Pompeo 26n66, 35n98, 39–40
Patrizi, Patrizio 162
Paul (saint) 93
Paul III (pope, Alessandro Farnese) 218
Paul V (pope, Camillo Borghese) 42, 179, 224, 304
Pavini, Giovanni Francesco 132
Peña, Francisco 101, 117, 120–126, 131, 133, 136, 150–151, 304
Peretti di Montalto, Felice *see* Sixtus V
Perillus of Athens 142
Perrachione, Pietro 224
Peter (saint) 66, 83, 96, 206, 268–269
Peter Chrysologus (saint) 46, 49, 255–256
Peter of Alexandria (saint) 158
Petronilla (saint) 269
Petronio, Alessandro 178–180
Petronius (saint) 213
Petrucci, Giovanni Battista 261
Phalaris of Agrigento 142–143
Philip II (king of Spain) 219
Pierozzi, Antonino (saint) 134, 205–206
Pistis (saint) *see* Fides (saint)
Pius IV (pope, Giovanni Angelo Medici) 40
Pius V (pope, Michele Ghislieri) 109n23, 176, 221, 266–267, 279–281
Placidus (saint) 211
Plautilla (saint) 66n53
Plautus 70, 210, 273
Pliny the Elder 70, 164, 205n24, 273, 287
Po-Chia Hsia, Ronnie 14n34
Polanco, Juan 187–189, 280, 281n77
Pomponius 213
Porti, Antonio 182n93, 183n95, 184–185, 278
Possevino, Giovanni Battista 158n14
Potitus (saint) 256
Praxedis (saint) 79n74, 268–269
Probus 211
Probus (saint) 42n130
Prosperi, Adriano 9, 16
Prudentius 81n77, 214, 217, 273
Pudens (saint) 268–269
Pudentiana (saint) 268–269
Pulzone, Scipione 224
Pupillo, Marco 11n27

Quaini, Francesco 46, 49, 55, 255–256, 258
Quaini, Giacomo 258
Quintilian 213, 217

Raida, Antonina 38, 40, 123, 133, 134n94
Raida, Cassandra 38, 40, 123, 133, 134n94
Raimundo de Peñafort (saint) 117–118, 119n55, 120, 130–131
Ramelli, Agostino 199, 207, 222, 245
Rangoni Orsini, Giulia 36
Rauzano, Pietro 59
Razius, Raphael 281n80

Razzi, Silvano 105, 286–287
Rebaudengo, Domenico 51
Redempta (saint) 79n76
Regio, Raffaele 216
Restituta (saint) 146, 228, 252–253, 255, 286
Restituta of Africa (saint) 252–253, 286
Revel, Jacques 26
Ribadeneira, Pedro 188–189
Ricci, Giacomo 28–29, 34, 43
Ripa, Cesare 223
Rocca, Angelo 109, 111, 116, 118, 129, 140–141, 155n1, 157, 171, 288
Romanus (saint) 81n77, 273
Romula (saint) 79n76
Rositano, Ottavio 161, 166
Rossi, Giulio 289
Rosweyde, Heribert van 53
Ruffini, Marco 175n67, 290n104
Rufillus (saint) 259n24, 262n36
Ruiz, Caterina 162–164
Ruiz, Pedro 162, 163n27

Sallmann, Jean-Michel 86n85
Sallust 70
Sanders, Nicholas 60, 144
Santing, Catrien 13
Santori, Giulio Antonio 124, 133, 136
Sauli, Alessandro 39, 159n14
Savonarola, Girolamo 10, 134n96
Scaliger, Joseph Justus 235–236
Schraven, Minou 266n47
Seneca 70, 213, 215–216
Serafina Romana (blessed) 286
Servilianus (saint) 65n51
Servus (saint) 149
Severano, Giovanni 218n58, 245, 300
Severinus (saint) 260
Severus Alexander (emperor) 70
Sfondrati, Niccolò *see* Gregory XIV
Sfondrati, Paolo Emilio 159n14, 263
Sigonio, Carlo 70, 147–149, 210, 212–217, 224, 236, 284
Silvestri, Rodolfo 184
Simeon Metaphrastes 67
Siraisi, Nancy 12–13, 21–22
Sirleto, Guglielmo 257
Sixtus V (pope, Felice Peretti di Montalto) 34, 55, 107–108, 119, 131, 179, 237, 266
Socrates 69
Sophia (saint) 74–75
Sozomen 69, 214
Spes (saint) 74–75
Spes of Norcia (saint) 254–255
Stephen (saint) 287
Suetonius 70, 213
Suidas 210
Sulpitius (saint) 65n51
Surius, Laurentius 52, 59, 64–67, 128, 201, 298
Sylvia (saint) 96

Tacitus 70
Talpa, Antonio 39, 50, 52, 64, 106n15, 223, 285
Taracus (saint) 42n130
Tarugi, Francesco Maria 38, 97, 127, 258
Tatiana (saint) 70
Tempesta, Antonio 222, 236
Tempestivi, Cherubino 95n101, 111, 258
Tempestivi, Fabio 95, 111, 258
Tempestivi, Girolamo 258
Teresa d'Ávila (saint) 105n10
Tertullian 69
Theodora (saint) 66
Theodoret 69
Theodosius (emperor) 70, 147
Thomas Aquinas (saint) 172
Tiburtius (saint) 263
Titus (emperor) 84, 87, 91
Truong, Nicolas 157n6
Tryphonia (saint) 74–75

Ugonio, Pompeo 78
Urban VIII (pope, Maffeo Barberini) 108, 124, 141n115, 304
Ursula (saint) 38, 140
Usuard 65, 197

Valerian (emperor) 252–253, 286
Valerianus (saint) 263
Valerius Maximus 70, 214, 217
Valier, Agostino 4, 158n14
Valla, Lorenzo 216
Valturio, Roberto 198
Vasari, Giorgio 200n19
Vecchietti, Girolamo 167–168, 169n49
Vegetius 197, 210
Velli, Angelo 264
Vergilio, Polidoro 200n19
Verstegan, Richard 60, 144, 220, 288
Vespasian (emperor) 84
Victorinus (saint) 260
Vincent Ferrer (saint) 59
Vincenzo I (duke of Mantua) 39
Vintimilius de Morra, Caesar 119n55
Vitelleschi, Marcello 41, 43, 104
Vitelleschi, Muzio 41

Vitruvius 71, 199, 209, 214, 217, 237, 240
Vittori, Angelo 136, 161n24, 172–173, 181, 182n91, 183–184, 186, 190, 191n115, 278
Vives, Juan Luis 56
Voragine, Jacopo da *see* Jacopo da Varazze
Vosmeer, Sasbout 219–220

Wierix, Johan 201
William Louis of Nassau 198n11
William of Orange 219

Xavier, Francisco (saint) 105n10

Zazzara, Andrea 26n66
Zazzara, Francesco 26n66, 29–31, 36, 37n108, 42, 53n18, 104–105, 136, 182n92, 191, 288
Zazzara, Giovanni Battista 104
Zeising, Heinrich 205n25
Zen, Stefano 58n31
Zerla, Giuseppe 136, 180–184
Zerla, Olimpia 123
Zonara 69
Zosimus 70

INDEX OF PLACES

Adriatic Sea 264
Agrigento 142
Alcalá 151
Alexandria 167, 168n47, 174, 195
America 17, 19, 61, 138, 157
Antioch 112
Apennines 179, 264
Arezzo 182n93
Armenia 105n12
Arsoli 40–41
Asia 17, 19, 61, 138, 157
Athens 213

Balkans 264
Barcelona 130
Belgium *see* Low Countries
Biblioteca Ambrosiana (Milan) 288
Bodleian Library (Oxford) 288
Bologna 46, 159, 212–213, 290
Brabant 197
Burgos 118n50, 119

Calvary (mount) 277
Campania 252
Canary Isles 107
Cardeña 118–119, 140, 277
Catalonia 117, 130
Cologne 52, 220
Constantinople 216
Cremona 187
Cyprus 221

Delft 219
Delphi 143

England 82, 143–144, 194

Faenza 258
Famagusta 208, 216, 237
Farfa 33
Fermo 182n93
Ferrara 103, 264
Florence 102n1, 206, 286
Forlì 256, 257n15, 260–262, 264
France 143, 163, 199

Gaeta 112
Galleria Ambrosiana (Milan) 287
Germany 256
Gerona 131n89
Golgotha *see* Calvary (mount)
Gorkum 138n108

Hungary 195

Imola 46, 173, 255, 258–259
Ischia 253

Japan 138n108
Jerusalem 87

Louvain 65
Low Countries 143, 195, 219

Mainz 53n18
Mantua 174
Marche 299
Milan 16, 42n130, 120, 122n62, 124, 127, 159, 174, 266n47, 287–288
Modena 147, 212, 214, 222
Montefalco 111

Netherlands *see* Low Countries
New World *see* America
Naples 18, 29n79, 36, 38, 53n18, 122n62, 178n78, 253, 299
Nicosia 216
Norcia 253–255
North Africa 69, 149, 253

Padua 212
Pisa 173, 174n64, 176, 256
Poland 82
Ponza 86
Pratolino 237
Puglia 261

Rimini 53, 256, 259–260, 262, 264–265
Roermond 201
Romagna 255, 258
Rome 2, 6, 17–18, 25, 30, 33–34, 36, 40, 42, 46, 53, 60, 72, 76–78, 79n74, 82, 84, 93–94, 102n1, 105, 110, 116, 120, 122n62, 127, 133, 139n109, 144, 145n128, 146n135, 156–157, 159–160, 162n26, 167, 168n47, 170–171, 176, 179, 186, 220, 223–224, 254, 259, 268–269, 275, 277, 279, 282, 288–289, 299
  Acqua Felice (fountain) 179

Acqua Paola (fountain) 179
Arch of Constantine 91
Arch of Septimius Severus 91
Arch of Titus 91
Baths of Caracalla 89, 91
Baths of Trajan 276
Biblioteca Alessandrina 50n11
Biblioteca Angelica 288
Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana 50n11
Biblioteca Vallicelliana 25, 26n66, 26n67, 51n12, 52, 109n26, 111, 114, 164n34, 189, 252–253, 263n38
Campidoglio (prison) 149
Campo de'Fiori 4
Capitol 89, 91n92, 91n93
Catacomb of Calixtus 76
Chiesa Nuova (church) 4–5, 31, 38, 104, 127, 176n70, 224, 288
Circus Maximus 91
Colle Oppio 276
Colosseum 276
Forum Romanum 89, 91
Forum Trajanum 89
Gesù (church) 89, 91n92
Lateran hospital 33
Mamertine Prison 91n92
Oratory of Rome 3, 6–7, 18, 37–42, 49, 69, 103–104, 106, 171, 177, 192, 222, 252
Palazzo Madama 31–32
Piazza Navona 31
Quirinal Palace 164
Saint Peter (basilica) 4, 87, 161, 218, 237, 245, 248
San Giacomo degli Incurabili 33, 162n26
San Girolamo della Carità (church) 97, 160
San Gregorio al Celio (church) 96–97, 223
San Lorenzo fuori le Mura (basilica) 79–80, 81n77
San Luigi dei Francesi (church) 31n85
San Marco (church) 89, 91n92
San Nicola in Carcere (church) 78n74
San Paolo alle Tre Fontane (abbey) 156
San Paolo fuori le Mura (basilica) 87
San Silvestro al Quirinale (church) 224
San Silvestro in Capite (church) 74, 75n69, 76–77, 87
Santa Barbara (oratory) 96–97
Santa Cecilia in Trastevere (church) 79n74, 263
Sant'Adriano al Foro (church) 89, 91n92
Santa Maria in Vallicella (church) *see* Chiesa Nuova
Santa Maria Maggiore (basilica) 41, 55, 65, 78n74, 111, 224, 266
Sant'Andrea (oratory) 96–97
Sant'Angelo in Foro Pescatorio (church) 35
Sant'Apollinare (church) 60, 87, 225
Santa Prassede (church) 79n74
Santa Silvia (oratory) 96–97
Santi Cesareo ed Ippolito (church) 95–96, 223
Santi Nereo ed Achilleo (basilica) 10, 34, 54, 87–89, 91n92, 94–97, 223
Santi Quattro Coronati (church) 79n74
San Tommaso di Canterbury (church) 60, 87, 225
Santo Spirito in Sassia (hospital) 258
Santo Stefano Rotondo (church) 60, 87, 225–227, 289
Sapienza (university) 78–79, 141n115, 207, 287n94
Tor di Nona (prison) 149
Torre de'Crescenzi 32–33
Trajan's Column 208
Tre Fontane (abbey) *see* San Paolo alle Tre Fontane (abbey)
Vallicella *see* Oratory of Rome
Vatican 4, 109, 115, 176–177, 224, 257, 265, 278n71
Via Appia 91, 95, 223

Salamanca 112, 114–115
San Giorgio in Alega 265n44
San Giuliano (church, Rimini) 264, 265n44
San Marco (convent, Florence) 134, 206
San Marino 264
San Mercuriale (monastery, Forlì) 261–262
San Pedro de Cardeña (monastery) 118
Santa Maria degli Angeli (monastery, Florence) 287n92
Sant'Eutizio (abbey, Umbria) 34, 41, 253
Scandinavia 82
Siena 162n26
Sora 6, 146n135, 252, 253n1, 255, 286
Spain 118, 163, 219
Syria 59

Tiber 4, 178–179
Trani 261–262, 265
Trent 47, 63, 79n75, 107, 134, 138
Trivento 105n12
Tuscany 162n26, 237

United Provinces *see* Low Countries

Venice 51, 122n62, 196n3

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

archiater 172, 257
ars mechanica 27
atrium 75–77
auditor 33, 103n2, 117n45

bezoar 279, 280n75
breviarium 48, 260

cacoethes 163–164
calidarium 208
Camera Apostolica 33, 139
catalogus sanctorum 110
catapulta 209, 210n38
catasta 213n50, 236
cochlea 201, 204n23
Compagnia della Misericordia 149
confessio 87
Congregatio de Indice *see* Index
Congregatio de Sancto Ufficio *see* Inquisition
Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies 3n8, 54–55, 106, 108, 109n28, 110–112, 115, 117–120, 123, 130, 138, 140, 151–152, 257
Congregazione delle Cause dei Santi 10
Congregatio pro Sacris Ritibus et Caeremoniis *see* Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies
corda 149–150
crimen laesae maiestatis 144
crux gemmata 94
culleus 70, 148–149, 264

depositio 89

Ecclesia militans 57, 59, 84, 299
Ecclesia triumphans 57
elevatio 190
equuleus 148, 210, 212–217, 219, 221–222, 232, 234, 235n89, 236, 241, 245, 284, 304
exemplum 70

fama sanctitatis 110, 121, 136n99
familia papalis 111
fax 274
follis 273–274

ganglion, *natta* 171

harpastum 273–274
historia profana 58n31, 70
historia sacra 48n6, 56n26, 57–58, 61–62, 72–73, 83–84, 93, 98–99, 117, 130, 251, 293

impresa 196, 222, 228, 289
Index 108, 124
Inquisition 17, 24n61, 108, 109n23, 123, 125, 133, 145, 149

laconicum 208
lampas 274–275
lectio 47–48, 55, 112, 253
λήθαργον, *lettargo* 165–166
lettargo *see* λήθαργον
lictor 271
ludus pilae 273
lues venerea 163

martyrium caritatis 157n9
martyrologium 47–48, 65, 197
medicus tiberinus 179
morbus gallicus 163n30
mos gallicus 147
musaeum 287

natta see ganglion
nervus 210n38, 271

officium 46–48, 55–57, 108, 111–112, 114–115, 118–119, 220, 255, 258, 259n22, 295
olla 81
Oratorio della chiesa 35
Oratorio Grande 49, 93
Oratorio piccolo de'secolari 35, 40

paganica 273–274
panoplia 88, 196, 241
passio 47, 94
patientia 157, 266, 281
pila 274
pilum 236
plumbatae 79–80, 81n77, 271
portico 79–80
praelum 204, 205n24
praeternaturalia 278–279, 281–282
presbyterium 87

processus antiquus 117
processus apostolicus 110, 121
processus ordinarius 103n1, 104, 110, 121
procurator fisci 121
promotor fidei 121

referendarius 33

Sacra Romana Rota 103n2, 108, 110, 112n39, 117, 120, 123, 125, 130–131
sanctimonialia 251, 257, 268, 277, 279, 281–282, 288, 291, 293, 300–301
scorpio 218–219, 228–230, 271–273
Signatura 33, 139
sphaeristica 273
strigilis 275, 276n68
sudatorium 208

taurus aeneus 142, 149
testudo 231
theatrum 287
torcular 201, 204n23, 205n24
translatio 92, 117, 134, 254, 266
triclinium 96
trigonalis 273–274
trochlea 149n147, 209n35, 215n52, 222n69

ungula 213n50, 218n58, 218n59, 219, 245, 248, 265

vena porta 189, 280–281
virtus heroica 128
Visita delle Sette Chiese 40–41, 192

wooden horse *see equuleus*